THE SECRET INTRIEGUES OF THE ROMISH PARTY IN IRELAND.

Licens'd,

August 14. 1689.

A

Full and Impartial Account

Of all the

SECRET CONSULTS,

Negotiations, Stratagems, & Intriegues

OF THE

Romiſh Party

IN

IRELAND,

From 1660, to this preſent Year 1689.

For the Settlement of Popery in that Kingdom.

LONDON,

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TO THE READER.

TO Preface to the enſuing Pamphlet, will (I am ſenſible) be attributed to a vain humour of the Age, rather than to more important Conſiderations. But however that may be the Apprehenſion of ſome, yet the more Judicious will (I doubt not) be of another Opinion, when they perceive a whole Series of the moſt profound Policies and Deſigns, drawn with that rudeneſs and diſproportion, as equally requires their Candour, as well as my Apology. Indeed to give an exact pourtraicture of this Intriegue (which in all its circumſtances appears very extraordinary and ſurprizing) would require Apelles his favourable chance, or at leaſt a more Artificial Repreſentation than muſt be expected in the following Diſcourſe. All that I can pretend to,

is, an Impartial Account of the Matter of Fact: and that being chiefly aimed at, will, with ſober Men, be, in ſome ſort at leaſt, interpreted, A Diſpenſation for the want of exteriour Ornament; or however that may prove, I deem'd it much more ſerviceable to the Publick to preſent the Reader with this rough draught, rather than conceal that, which (with what imperfection ſoever 'tis managed) muſt needs be uſeful to all Proteſtants, and eſpecially at this Juncture: For here the Reader has an Account of the firſt ſteps that were made in Ireland *for the Introduction of Popery into that Kingdom; together with a Deſcription of what obſtacles and repulſes this Deſign met with; how 'twas ſtill carried on, notwithſtanding its frequent Interruptions and Diſcouragements, and by what private Cabals, and after what ſecret Machinations. Here is repreſented the admirable diligence of an indefatigable Romiſh Genius for the promotion of the Catholick Cauſe, which in ſeveral periods of State, and viciſſitudes of that Government ſtill kept its deſign on foot, ſometimes retreating a few paces backward, when they found it neceſſary; and at others, not only retrieving that diſadvantage, but continuing a greater Progreſs, when they met with occaſions favourable to their Deſign;*

Design; which at last they carefully improved to that ripeness wherein it now stands, and to which it has attained by an unparallel'd Violation of the Laws and Constitutions of the Realm, by the most violent and unjust Proceedings in the Reign of the late King James; *of which you have an ample and copious Relation in the following Sheets.*

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Romiſh Party in *Ireland*, from 1660, to this preſent Year 1689. for the Settlement of Popery in that Kingdom, *&c.*

WHEN the natural Conſequent of our late inteſtine Differences had (in a ſhort time) produced ſo many various *Scenes* of Government, till by a circular Motion we center'd in our firſt Model; and ſo like *Pythagoras* his tranſmigration of Souls—— were metamorphoſed into ſo many differing *Shapes*, till at laſt, in the Year One thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty, we became animated with our firſt Diſpoſitions to Monarchy, by the Reſtoration of King *Charles* the Second; then it was that ſeveral Diſputes aroſe (which

were Debated before the *King and Council*) concerning the Settlement of *Ireland*; the Lord of *Santry*, Lord Chief Juſtice of *Ireland*, (a Man equally eminent for Law as well as Loyalty) in an excellent and learned Speech repreſented to the Board the horrid Rebellion of *Ireland*; together with thoſe Barbarous and Inhumane *Maſſacres* which he had been an eye Witneſs of.

In Oppoſition to which, Sir *Nicholas Plunkett*, a Man alſo very skilful in the Law, but a Knight of the Pope's making, and one that had acted his part in all the *Rebellion* of *Ireland*, aſſumed the Defence of the Natives of that Kingdom: but as his *Cauſe* was too apparently bad to be maintained with any tolerable Succeſs; ſo was his Underſtanding in the Law inferiour to the Lord Chief Juſtice *Santry*'s, who carried the Debate with great Applauſe, in the Opinion of all that heard it; and had his Advice been accordingly purſued, 'twas thought few of the *Iriſh* would have got their Eſtates: and at that time, if (by miſtake) the Lord of *Ormond* and Lord *Angleſey* had not joined with the Court-Party, 'twas believed that what the Lord *Santry* urged, as Law, muſt have prevailed in point of Right; for in thoſe days the Intereſt of the Duke of *York* (which afterwards grew to a mighty height, as you will perceive by the Sequel) was not ſo powerful as to have prevented it. That which he chiefly inſiſted upon, as to matter of Law, was, That 'twas moſt agreeable to the Law of the Land, as well as moſt equal for the Subject to be Tried by the Common Law, where they would meet with a fair and indifferent Tryal by Juries of their Neighbours, and in this caſe could have

have no wrong done them; but that the Court of *Claims* was like the Uſurper's *High-Court* of *Juſtice*, Arbitrary and Unlimited. This touch'd the *Iriſh* to the quick, for they being conſcious of their Guilt, moſt of 'em Indicted and Outlawed for Treaſon, deſpaired upon their Trial at the Bar to make any conſiderable Defence.

The Government of *Ireland* was firſt put into 1660.
the hands of *Lords Juſtices*, which were Sir *Maurice Euſtace*, *Lord Chancellor*, the Earl of *Mountrath* and the Earl of *Orrery*; the firſt a Lawyer, the latter, Men that had ſignally behaved themſelves againſt the *Iriſh*, during the whole *Rebellion*. Under the Government of theſe Men, a *Parliament* was called in the City of *Dublin*, and the *Convention*, which ſat upon the King's Reſtoration, diſſolved. The firſt thing they proceeded upon, were the Bi''s ſent them from *England*, for by the Law of *Ireland*, Intituled, *Poyning*'s Act, the *Parliament* of *Ireland* can read no Bill in their Houſe, which proceeds not by theſe Steps: Firſt, The *Chief Governour* and *Council* of *Ireland* draw up a Bill and ſend it over to the *King* and *Council* in *England*, who either approve or correct it as they think convenient; and ſo, in the ſecond place, return it back to the *Chief Governor* and *Council*, and theſe ſend it to the *Houſe of Commons*, who have only a Negative Voice, and can neither alter nor amend a word of it. This, by way of Digreſſion, which differing ſo much from the Practice of the *Parliament* of *England*, induced me not to think it altogether unpleaſant, or unneceſ-

ſary, to preſent the Reader with this brief Account of it.

But to return to the *Parliament*, the variety of intereſts in that Kingdom gave birth to ſeveral Diſputes among them; for the accommodating whereof it was thought neceſſary at Court to ſend over a *Lord Lieutenant*, for about this time a great Controverſie aroſe among all Parties, which was founded upon this occaſion: A new intereſt was ſet on foot, in which neither *Souldier*, *Adventurer*, nor *Iriſh* (according to the firſt *Declaration* from *Breda*) were concerned, and yet it related to the firſt *Souldiers* that fought againſt the *Iriſh*, which were now called *Forty-nine Men*; theſe being King's-Men, were not provided for in the *Parliament* and Uſurper's time, and how to make Proviſion for them now, was the matter in Diſpute. Some Lands indeed there were that had not been ſet out to *Souldiers* and *Adventurers*, which were allotted theſe Men; but this Proviſion was not conſiderable, and therefore the *forfeited Corporations* and *Houſes* that were in them, were hereunto annexed; and to render 'em the more valuable, a Clauſe was inſerted in the Act, That no *Iriſh Papiſt*, in what manner ſoever he juſtified his innocency, ſhould enjoy any *Houſe* within a *Corporation*, except the Natives of *Corke* and *Featherd*. This the *Iriſh* vehemently exclaimed againſt as barbarous and inhumane, that, to ſerve the conveniency of a particular Set of Men, a Man muſt appear innocent in the *Country* and enjoy his Eſtate, but be adjudged a Rebel in the *City*; and upon that account be diſpoſſeſſed of his *Houſes*. On the other hand,

hand, the *Engliſh* complained, That the *Natives* by an Illegal, Arbitrary *Court*, were made innocent, though they were known to have been concerned in the *Rebellion*; for that in truth 'twas beyond all peradventure that not *Ten* of the *Iriſh Papiſts* were free from *Rebellion* and *Murther*: The Duke of *Ormond* had a great Arrear due to him upon this Fund, and after mutual Conteſts on either ſide, the Affair was ſettled, to the Satisfaction of the *Proteſtants*.

But in order to a firmer and more mature Eſtabliſhment of things, it was (amongſt other Conſultations) reſolved in *Council*, to ſend over the Lord *Roberts* for *Ireland* in Quality of the Lord *Lieutenant*, as a Perſon whoſe indifferency as to the *various* and *oppoſite* intereſts of that Kingdom, might bring forth a compleat and impartial ſettlement; but his being an Engliſhman, and not related to, and ſo conſequently not intereſſed in favour of the *Iriſh*, occaſioned the Duke of *York* (whoſe Affection to the Natives of that Kingdom, has appeared by too pregnant and demonſtrative Proofs) to work with the King his Brother to ſend over the Duke of *Ormond*, whoſe Acquaintance with, and Relation to divers of the *Iriſh Nobility* and *Gentry*, did rationally promiſe a more favourable regard to their Intereſts; though what probability ſoever this Proſpect had in it, it finally turned to their diſadvantage, and that by the even ſteerage of the Duke of *Ormond*, who, though placed at the Helm, in favour to the *Iriſh*, yet ſo ſignally eſpouſed the Intereſt of the *Engliſh Proteſtants* in all their juſt and legal demands, 1662.

that

that upon that very account he loſt the favour of the Duke of *York*.

This management of things, made the *Popiſh Party* very ſenſible of their miſtake; but to correct it in a very high meaſure, they procured the removal of ſome of the *Commiſſioners* of the *Court* of *Claims*, and got others put in, exactly calculated for their preſent deſign: The leading Man was one *Rainsfoord*, who drove ſo furiouſly, that complaints were made to the King. *Talbot* (now *Tyrconnel*) was at this time made principal Agent for the *Iriſh Papiſts* at *Court*, and upon the account of ſolliciting for them, had Sums of Money rais'd him by way of *Tax*, upon all that paſſed the Court of *Claims*; and in ſuch caſes wherein men had no Friends, nor good Titles, he bought their pretences, and by *Rainsfoord*'s means paſſed the *Claim*; from all which illegal courſes, 'twas viſible to the *Engliſh*, that they were in a loſt condition, which brought many of them under ſuch apparent diſcouragements, as to part with their *Eſtates* for a year or two's Purchace; neither could any man make a meaſure of his Title, ſo arbitrary were the *Commiſſioners* in their Proceedings. And as the *Iriſh* inſinuated themſelves into the favour of *Rainsfoord*, and the *Commiſſioners* of the Court of *Claims*, or by the powerful ſollicitation of their Agent at Court, procur'd *Recommendatory Letters* from thence; in the ſame proportion they paſs'd their innocency, not according to their demerit.

For what Complaints ſoever were made by the *Iriſh*, of the Cruelty of *Oliver*'s *Court*, in criminating them; yet ſome who prov'd their *innocency* there, were decreed *nocent* by theſe *Commiſſioners*;

owners; and where they had no pretence of taking away an *Iriſh*-man's *Eſtate*, that was adjudg'd *innocent* in the Uſurper's time, in that caſe they obtain'd *Proviſo's* in the *Act* of *Settlement* to deprive them of their *Eſtates* for *Rebellion*: As for inſtance, the *Knight* of *Kerry*, who though a *Papiſt*, yet always ſo faithfully adher'd to the *Engliſh Intereſt*, and had been ſo great an inſtrument of divers of the *Proteſtants* preſervation, that for that reaſon he was by the *Uſurper* reſtored to his *Eſtate*; his caſe was ſo notorious, that the *Parliament* (though their whole Fortunes depended upon the Act of *Settlement*) refus'd paſſing the *Act*, except that clauſe in prejudice to the Knight of *Kerry*, was ſtruck out, notwithſtanding that they were inform'd at the ſame time, That if the Act was ſent back, and altered, it ſhould be to their diſadvantage, as indeed it prov'd; however it was Corrected as to that Clauſe.

So much of this *Act* did ſo manifeſtly incline to favour the *Iriſh*, as juſtly created Complaints by the *Engliſh*, which ſeemingly to redreſs, a new *Act* was prepared, Entituled, *The Act of Explanation*; the conſequence of which was, That the *Proteſtants* were glad to ſit down with the loſs of one third; and where the *Iriſh* had either been ſo notoriouſly criminal, as that no Palliations could extenuate the blackneſs of their *Rebellion*; or elſe were Men of that inconſiderable intereſt, as render'd them incapable of paſſing their innocency, in ſuch caſes their Eſtates were claim'd by other *Iriſh*, whoſe intereſts at Court were more prevalent; ſuch were the Earls of *Clancarthy*,

Clan-

Clanricard, Lord *Coſtela Dillon*, Earl of *Carlingfoord* and many more, who paſs'd their Claims for twice more than ever they had before the *Rebellion*.

Purſuant to the *Act* paſſed for the payment of *Quit-rent* to the Crown, for all Lands that were Seiz'd, and Sequeſtred, the *Engliſh* paid *Quit-rent* in many places where their Lands were ſcarce worth it; but when the Court of *Claims* was over, and the *Parliament* of *Ireland* Diſſolv'd, then the *Iriſh* that paid *Quit rent*, obtain'd Grants by means of the Duke of *York* (who omitted no opportunities of teſtifying his good will to them) not only to be remitted of their *Quit-rent*, but of their Arrears alſo.

To this height had the *Popiſh Deſign* advanc'd it ſelf at a Juncture, when the *Engliſh Intereſt* ſeemed not only to carry the preeminence, but even to have reach'd the *Meridian* of her *Triumph* at *Court*: and though it was believed upon the King's Reſtauration, there could not have been the twentieth part of *Ireland* gain'd from the *Engliſh*; yet what with the thirds taken at one blow from the *Engliſh*, and by *Nominees*, and other *Stratagems* of State, there was almoſt an half of the Kingdom in value loſt, notwithſtanding at the ſame time the moſt *innocent* of the *Iriſh* were depriv'd of their *Eſtates*, and the greateſt *Rebels* got more than their own. This was the firſt ſtep advanc'd for the introduction of *Popery* into that Kingdom; and notwithſtanding the ſmall Progreſs it had then ſeemingly made, it ſo far encouraged (even in this time of its Infancy) the moſt conſiderable of the *Iriſh*, as often to intimate

timate to the *Engliſh*, That in a ſhort time the *Proteſtants*, and they, muſt be of one *Religion*.

'Twas very remarkable, That in the Year One Thouſand Six Hundred Sixty Eight, *Talbot*, Brother to *Tyrconnel*, and *Titular Archbiſhop* of *Dublin*, Landing at a place called the *Skeriſh*, within Twelve Miles of that City, and being very Hoſpitably entertained by one Captain *Coddington*, Lodging all Night at his Houſe; the next Morning took him aſide, and after the moſt Affectionate Expreſſions of Kindneſs, asked him what Title he had to that Eſtate, for that he obſerved he had expended conſiderably upon its improvement? *Coddington* anſwered, That 'twas an *old Eſtate*, belonging to the Earl of *Twomond*. *Talbot* replyed, That was nothing, it did belong to the Church, and it would all be taken away: therefore adviſed him to lay out no more upon it, but get what he could, and then deſert it. All this was offered upon ſtrong injunctions of the moſt Inviolable Secrecy. 1668.

The Duke of *Ormond* was then Lord Lieutenant, and nothing advantagious to their Intereſts could be managed whilſt he continued in that Poſt; which was the riſe to divers Conſultations at Court for his removal. It had been too palpable for the *Popiſh Party* to have appeared intereſſed in it; wherefore an Intriegue was then formed of renewing the ancient Animoſities betwixt him and the Duke of *Buckingham*. This was reduced to Act, and the effect was propor-

tionable to the design. The next thing to be considered, was, who should succeed him, which was a matter that required a very niee and critical management. They pitched upon the Lord
1669. *Roberts*, as a person that had been formerly disappointed of that Station: which begetting a prejudice in him, and meeting with a Vindicative Spirit (whose temper they knew to be such) would prompt him invidiously to inspect into, or else to create faults in the Government of the Duke of *Ormond*, which was the end of the *Court-Intriegue*, and of his *advancement*; as knowing that his uneasiness to those of that Kingdom, would serve to prepare a fair reception for the L ---- *B*—— a Man of whose inclinations to their *interest*, the *Popish Party* had the most convincing assurances; and agreeably to this whole *Scheme* of *policy*, the Lord *Roberts* remained Lord Lieutenant about Six Months, and then the L. *B.* was sent
1670. over. *Talbot*, now *Tyrconnel*, leaves the Court, and follows his Brother the *Titular Archbishop*, and lives privately; but notwithstanding his Retirement, is still engaged in all the Secret Counsels with Sir *Ellis Leaton* the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary.

And now to accomplish their purpose, the first thing to be done, was to set up a *pretence* that the King when in *Exile*, had obliged himself to the *French* King to restore the *Irish* to their *Religion* and their *Estates*; and lest a neglect of this should occasion a Breach with *France*, something must be acted in pursuance to it: So it was ordered, That notwithstanding the *Law*, to pre-

prefer *Iriſh Papiſts* to the *Commiſſion* of the *Peace*, in which they behaved themſelves with that *partiality* and *inſolence*, (*Properties* inherent to moſt, if not all of them) that they became odious, even to the judicious of their own party. 1671.

The next thing was to regulate the *Corporations*, which by an Act of the laſt Parliament, there was power for the Lord Lieutenant and Council to do. This was managed with ſuch great ſecrecy, that none were made acquainted with it, till it was actually drawn, and brought ready to the *Council-Board*. The next day there was ſent to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *Dublin*, an Order for them to call a Common-Council, and to turn them out, and to make a new Government in the City. This they well underſtood would create a diſturbance, which they were deſirous ſo to improve among the Citizens, as to render the *Proteſtants* diſaffected; for which purpoſe they induſtriouſly laboured to irritate and provoke them, as the L—— *B*—— had done the Year before, when a number of Boys got up in a Tumult to pull down a Bridge which was erecting contrary to the deſire of the City; where when the Lord Mayor, and Conſtables had ſuppreſs'd them, the Lord Lieutenant ordered Soldiers, as they were carrying them to Priſon, who diſcharg'd ſeveral Shots amongſt them, and killed ſome of them. 1672.

But to return to the Order of *Council* for modelling the Corporation, the Aldermen gave ready obedience, though they feared the bottom of

the Deſign. This compliance of the *Aldermen* neceſſitated them to take new meaſures; for the moſt conſiderable of the *Aldermen* were Men of *New Intereſt*, and had been noted for keeping out *Papiſts* from the City Freedom: and whileſt theſe *Aldermen* were in Power, no *Popiſh Deſign* could ſucceed: and therefore to facilitate by another, what they could not effect by former Stratagems, the next work was to prepoſſeſs the Populace with prejudice againſt the *Aldermen*, repreſenting them as the *Authors* and *Contrivers* of this New Model, though (as it was afterwards proved, upon an hearing before the Earl of *Eſſex* and Council, when Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*) they never heard word of 'em till they were brought to 'em to the *Tole-ſale* with orders to put 'em in Execution.

1672. At that time there came over to *Dublin* a Perſon who aſſumed ſeveral names, (a practice as agreeable to the Intereſt and Policy of the Church of *Rome*, and as common, as that of variety of Shapes, and Profeſſions) ſometime he went by the name of *Payne*, at others by that of *Nevell*, and was found to be the ſame perſon that was afterwards committed to *Newgate* for ſome high Miſdemeanour relating to *Coleman* and the *Popiſh Plot*. This *Nevell* (as has ſince been apparent in the inſtance before named) had his part with *Coleman*, and was ſent over for *Ireland* as his proper Province, wherein to act the deſigned *Tragedy*: He remained for ſome time obſcure in *Dublin*, and after that was received into the *Caſtle*; but never appeared till this (as was deem'd) ſeaſonable

seasonable juncture, and then in the capacity of Under-*Secretary* to Sir *Ellis Leaton*.

His business was to infuse into the Populace of the City of *Dublin*, an Opinion of the Treachery of their *Recorder*, Sir *William Davis*; and to make the pretext the more plausible, he had Instructions to add, That the *Recorder* and the *Lord Primate*, then Lord Chancellour, counselled the L.----- *B.*----- to enact those Laws for the abolishing of the *Ancient Government* of the City; and farther insinuating, that this was done at the desire, and instigation, and by the contrivance of the chief *Aldermen*. This impious suggestion being not only artfully spread among, but also too easily credited by the *Citizens*, induced 'em to pitch upon *Nevell* as their most proper Agent, and in order to this, advanced Mony which they presented to Sir *Ellis Leaton*, who, together with *Nevell*, brought the then Lord Mayor, *Totty*, with the Sheriffs to the Lord Lieutenant, who publickly declared the Relation above; and withal promised to recal his former Order. Upon which he called a Council, but the unravelling of the business discovered a Popish Intriegue, which occasioned their not agreeing with the *Lord Lieutenant*.

After this a Consult was held by the *Lord Mayor* and *Sheriffs*, with Colonel *Talbot*, now Lord *Tyrconnel*, and his Brother the then *Titular Archbishop* of *Dublin*, as also with Sir *Nicholas Plunkett*, an old *Irish Lawyer*, before mentioned (who was formerly one of the *Pope's Supream Council* at *Kilkenny* in *Ireland*.) This Consult was upon 1672.

upon a *Sunday*, at *Talbot*'s Houſe, Three Miles from *Dublin*, where it was reſolved, That the *Lord Mayor* and *Sheriffs* ſhould call a general Aſſembly of the *City*, and by the Act of that Aſſembly turn out the *Recorder*, together with thoſe *Aldermen* which were oppoſite to the *Romiſh Party*. Matters were ſo far acted, in purſuance to this intended Subverſion, that the Aſſembly was already in *Council*, but found all the Twenty four *Aldermen* unanimous; ſo that they could not, according to the Laws of that City, paſs any Order, in regard that none could be made without the Aſſent of the *Court* of *Aldermen*, who ſat in a Room by themſelves. This was a fatal obſtacle to their Deſign, whereupon they ſent to the *Lord Lieutenant* to be Inſtructed how, and in what manner, they ſhould proceed; and in the interim kept the Aſſembly ſhut up all the day. At laſt they received the following Directions, That one of the *Sheriffs*, with ſeveral of the Commons, ſhould come into the *Aldermen's Court*, and bring a Petition in the name of the whole City, to turn out Sir *William Davis*, the *Recorder*, and *Seven Aldermen*, who were of the greateſt account in that City. But notwithſtanding the depth of this Policy, which was lain with all the artifice and ſubtilty it could be capable of, yet was the whole of it privately diſcovered by one of the *Sheriffs*, which put the *Aldermen* into a poſture of Preparation for their Defence; which was managed with that ſucceſs, that upon its coming to be debated, the adverſe Party obtain'd only the Suffrages of two indigent *Aldermen*, which gave a conſiderable check to the Intriegue.

But

But then the *Lord Mayor* called a private Aſſembly, and not one of the Seven *Aldermen* were preſent: The Commons were called into the *Aldermen's Court*, and there, in a tumultous and irregular manner, they were turned out, and Seven of the Rabble put in their places; as alſo *Leatone* the *Lord Lieutenant's Secretary* was made *Recorder*.

This Revolution ſo awakened the Eyes of the *Citizens* of *Dublin*, that they began to make a more narrow Inſpection into the main drift and tendency of it; which, within a Month after 'twas ſet on foot, they plainly perceived was immediately levelled at the Foundation of the Proteſtant Intereſt and Religion. They now became apprehenſive how miſerably they had been impoſed upon, eſpecially when they ſaw *Papiſts* brought into the *Common-Council*, and every day the diſguiſe ſo thrown off, that they remained no longer doubtful of a moſt apparent and palpable Deſign of introducing Popery.

About this time *Talbot*, the *Titular Archbiſhop* of *Dublin*, apply'd himſelf to the *Lord Lieutenant*, and borrowed ſome of the *Hangings* of the *Caſtle*, *Silver Candleſticks*, Plate and other Utenſils to uſe at an **High Maſs**, which Sir *Ellis Leaton* got to be ſent with the Complement of ſaying, **That he hoped to have High Maſs at Chriſt's Church at Chriſtmaſs**; and which in all probability had been effected, if a diſcovery of a moſt bloody and inhumane Conſpiracy to be acted in this Year, had not ſeaſonably prevented it; of which take the following Account: 1672.

The

The *Prieſts* (by Directions from their *Superiours*) ordered their ſeveral *Congregations* at *Maſs*, That at ſuch a time every *Roman Catholick* ſhould fix over their Doors a *Croſs* made of *Straw*: The People were curious to underſtand the reaſon of this Order; but the matter was carried with ſo much ſecrecy, that the *Prieſts* themſelves, 'twas believed, knew no more than that it was deſigned to bleſs the Peoples Houſes. This, in purſuance to the Advice and Inſtruction of the *Prieſts* (who like ſo many *Infallible Oracles*, are, upon all occaſions, how difficult or unreaſonable ſoever, moſt punctually obeyed) was generally performed, and at the ſame time vaſt multitudes of *Prieſts* came from beyond the Seas; and it appears by the Sequel, That ſome of theſe were better acquainted with the bottom of this black and damnable Intriegue, than generally the poor ignorant *Prieſts* of *Ireland* were, to whom, 'twas not by the *Helliſh Conclave* at *Rome* thought fit, to Communicate a matter of this private and great importance. For one of theſe *Foreign Prieſts* finding ſeveral Houſes which had not *Croſſes* fixed at their Doors, he warned the People, with great earneſtneſs, to put them up; and further told them, That this omiſſion might be their Ruine, though he would not name to them the particular Inſtance wherein. But amidſt the People's various conjectures, as to the occaſion of this ſo general an Order, one of theſe *Foreign Prieſts*, more open-hearted than the reſt, acquaints a Friend of his with this Deſign; which being by him communicated to another, and this other acquainting ſome Friend of his, till

till at laſt by this Relation of it to ſeveral hands, the matter was ſo far divulged, that 'twas impoſſible to conceal it any longer from being publickly known. This intended *Bloody Maſſacre* was formed after the enſuing manner: Upon a certain day (appointed for the Execution of this diſmal Tragedy) all the *Proteſtants* were to be barbarouſly Murthered, and the *Signal* appointed to diſtinguiſh the *Iriſh* from *theſe Hereticks*, was, a *Croſs* of *Straw* put up before their *Doors*, which whereſoever that was not found, all thoſe *Houſes* were to be deſtroy'd. But this being opportunely diſcovered, ſearch was made, and *Croſſes* were accordingly found at moſt of the *Iriſh Doors*, in the whole Province of *Munſter*; which being made up in a very ſmall compaſs, were not before taken notice of. Search was made for the *Prieſt*, who was the firſt *Author* of this Diſcovery; but he was not to be found: and the *Government* in *Ireland* was then ſo extreamly *byaſſed*, and diſcovered ſo partial an affection to the *Iriſh Intereſt*, that no encouragement was given to a farther Inſpection into this *horrid Plot*; which upon a narrower ſearch would doubtleſs have anſwered the whole of the Relation given of it by the *Prieſt*, and would have appeared a moſt *Unchriſtian* and *Unnatural*, but upon theſe accounts, (in the preſent ſenſe and practice of the *Church* of *Rome*) a more *Catholick Deſign*. But ſuch as were active and induſtrious in laying open this miſchievous and pernicious *Conſpiracy*, had their Cattle ſtole from 'em, and were threatned to have their Houſes burnt; with ſuch like terrifying devices of the *Iriſh*, which they are not only wont to

give out, but alſo practiſe againſt ſuch of the *Engliſh*, as endeavour to confront them in their evil Deſigns. This (together with the *connivence* of the *Government*) put a ſtop to any farther diſcovery; ſo that the whole was huſhed up, and paſſed over in ſilence.

Thus we ſee, (that to what proficiency ſoever the *Popiſh Intereſt* had attained by the violent and irregular proceedings of the Court of *Claims*, and other artifices of its firſt riſe and production) that it was at that time but in its *infant ſtate*, when compared with that *maturity* it had now inſenſibly aſpired to, under the *Government* of the L. *B.* The Duke of *Ormond*, when in the Government, did in the whole conduct of Affairs ſo vigorouſly ſupport the *Proteſtant Intereſt*, that he remained an inſeparable obſtacle to their Deſign, unleſs ſome method were taken to put him out of that Station; in order to which (as you have heard) the Lord *Roberts* was to be practiſed upon, whoſe prejudice (they doubted not) would carry him to very ſevere Reflections upon the Duke of *Ormond*'s *Government*, and indeed the experiment anſwered the deſign of the undertakers; for the firſt thing that the Lord *Roberts* did (which I ſhould have mentioned when I ſpoke of his ſucceeding the Duke of *Ormond*, but however may not improperly be inſerted in this place) was to prie into the Duke of *Ormond*'s Government, and in a manner to encourage and invite perſons to make their Complaints; but 'twas found a difficult task to find Faults after a Perſon of ſo great Honour and Integrity, as he was. But however to put his

Deſign

Design in Execution, he first gave opportunity to the *Officers* of the *Army* to make their Complaints, which not succeeding, then he countenances the *private Souldiers* to offer their *Grievances*; and in order to this, appoints *Commissioners* to go round the Kingdom, but all to no purpose: afterwards he attempts the same in the *City* of *Dublin*, to see if they would complain for Quartering of Souldiers; but that Device came likewise to nothing. But, alas, all this would not fix him long in the Government: He was sent over but to serve a turn, and after being a *necessary Instrument* for a while must now give place to a fitter Agent, the L. *B.* who was now appointed to guide the *Chariot*:

Quem si non tenuit, magnis tamen excidit ausis; Though he could not hold the *Rein* so steady as fully to compleat the course, yet was the undertaking noble in it self; and how ever it succeeded, could argue no less than a Gallant Resolution for the *Catholick Cause*; and which indeed, he had at last brought to that high pitch as to draw in the Populace (by amusing them with specious Pretences against the Magistracy) to an espousal of his interest. But however 'twas happy for the Protestants that the Rabble at last became sensible that they had look'd at the wrong end of the Perspective, and that things had been represented to them in a *false light*, and in *colours* quite different from what they now appeared: *Popery* had now almost arrived to its *Zenith*, and wanted but little of that Perfection which that horrible, Bloody contrivance before mentioned, was designed to compass; a practice of a

parallel nature with the former *Iriſh Rebellion*, and *Pariſian Maſſacre*, and the like infallible demonſtrations of the *Church* of *Rome*'s undoubted *Catholiciſm*.

But 'tis high time to haſten to the aforeſaid Affair of the *Corporation*. The ſeaſonable diſcovery of the afore-mentioned *Sheriff*, gave the *Aldermen* the opportunity of ſending over Sir *William Davis* to *London*, who repreſenting a true Deſcription of this Deſign to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, made that great Politician ſwear, That the *L. L. was a mad Man*; which Negotiation with the ſaid Earl, produced ſo ſucceſsfull an effect, that about a Month after the Earl
1672. of *Eſſex* was nominated Lord Lieutenant, which for the preſent interrupted the Progreſs of the *Popiſh Deſign* in *Ireland*, though the *Natives* of that Kingdom were ſo elevated in their Expectations of its ſucceeding, that they forbore not boaſting to their Confidents of its improvement at Court.

This *Romiſh Deſign*, which had fully appear'd in its proper ſhape in *Ireland*, began ſoon after this to *unmask* it ſelf in *England*, and a remarkable Paſſage occurred, which not a little contributed to the untwiſting of this Intricacy of State, which had been carefully *ſpun* with ſo fine a *Thread*. The *King*, the *Duke* of *York*, and *Clifford*, the *Lord Treaſurer*, were one day at a certain Houſe, in a private Room, where one Sir *W. B.* (a *Commiſſioner* of the *Exciſe* of *England*, and of the *Revenue* of *Ireland*) came, and being a Perſon that frequently accommodated the King with Money, was wont to gain acceſs

acceſs at all hours, and in preſumption of this liberty was at the Door, ready to enter the Room; but his hearing the King ſpeak, with more than ordinary earneſtneſs, begat in him a curioſity to hearken with ſome Attention, but could hear only ſome broken and imperfect Expreſſions. The *Duke* alſo ſpoke ſo low, that he could not underſtand him; but *Clifford* was loud as in publick, anſwering the King in a very audible and articulate manner, in theſe words, *Sir, if you are drove off upon fears, you will never be ſafe; the work will do, if you declare your ſelf with Reſolution, there is enow to ſtand by you.* The King replied, *This name, Popery, will never be ſwallowed by the Peop'e*; upon which the King ſtarted off his Seat, and ſaid, *Some Body is at the Door.* Whereupon *Clifford* haſtily opened it, and without ſpeaking, fell furiouſly upon *B* , dragging him to a pair of Stairs, from whence he kick'd him down. Soon after this *B.* dyed, which was not improbably imputed to that Misfortune.

Here we may reaſonably reflect upon thoſe Politick (and for ſome time) imperceptible ſteps, by which *Popery* gradually *gained ground* upon us, both in *Ireland*, and *England*. In *Ireland* the whole *Scheme* had been managed with ſo much addreſs, as to engage the Populace to their Party, as has been already ſhewn, in *England*; the Deſign was lain with that depth, and ſo profoundly diſguis'd with the moſt artificial Deluſions, That few (except ſome of the moſt Judicious, and theſe no otherwiſe than by Conjecture) were able to fathom it. But *God, who brings to light*

light the hidden things of darkness, and whose powerful Prerogative is such as oftentimes to disappoint the *wise* in their own *Craftiness*, did wonderfully *infatuate the wicked Devices* of these Men, and that by an opportune discovery, when they were possess'd with the greatest hopes of its attaining its designed effect.

1672. But to proceed upon the former Discourse, interrupted by this Digression. In this Year a little *Instrument* of the *Pope* appeared, who by degrees became no inconsiderable Actor in the Affairs of the *Romish Court*, one *Thomas Sheridon*. This Man was Educated in *Trinity Colledge* near *Dublin*, where he commenced *Master* of *Arts*, and after that entered into the *Holy Order* of a *Deacon* of the *Church* of *Ireland*; but upon an intimate Acquaintance contracted with the *Jesuitical Party*, was discovered by these politick Engineers of State, to be a Person, whose natural sagacity, joyn'd with his artificial improvements (as to which none of his co-temporaries in the University could dispute the Precedence) might justly render him a fit Object for their purpose. This Design of theirs, co-operating with his boundless Ambition, made him not sollicitous to aspire to an higher rank in the Church (though otherwise his pregnant parts might reasonably have entitled him to very eminent preferment in it) but now that he had another *Game* to *play*, he suddenly (to the Admiration of all that knew or heard of him) abandons his *Sacred*, and assumes a *Civil Profession*, that of a *Collector* of the *Customes* in an out-Port of *Ireland*: a place he

he was as unqualified for, as he was deem'd capable of that of the Church; the place but an hundred and twenty pounds *per annum*. He remained three or four Years in this place, but not to the ſmall amazement of ſuch as were acquainted with his profuſeneſs: For 'twas viſible that his Sallary could not anſwer a quarter of his Expence, living at a very extravagant height in imitation of his *Maſter Coleman*.

At laſt the Intriegue appeared more intelligible to ſome inquiſitive Men, who began more narrowly to prie into it. For 'twas conſidered, that his being *Collector* of *Corke* (a great place of Commerce by Sea) afforded him Intelligence from all parts, whereby Letters from *Rome*, *Spain*, &c. to all the *Popiſh Clergy* could arrive ſafely through his Hands: and as this was anſwerable to their firſt deſign of fixing him in that Station, ſo did it render him the more conſiderable amongſt them; notwithſtanding that, to avoid all ſuſpicion, he ſtill put on the *diſguiſe* of the *Proteſtant Religion*, which he counterfeited with ſo ingenious an air, that moſt believed him *extream* in that *Profeſſion*, and were apt to think him inclin'd to *Presbytery*, as deriving it from his *Maſters* the *Farmers*, who were called *The Fanatick Farmers*, being a Sett of Brewers in *London*.

Thus we ſee how this *bigotted Votary* of the *Romiſh Church transformed* himſelf into a different *ſhape*, and covered his black Deſign with the Mask of *Presbytery*, as the *Stalking Horſe* to other *Fowle*, upon which his aim was ſet. But as this diſguiſe could not remove the ſuſpicions of the

the most judicious, discerning Men, who considered his assuming an Employment (quite contrary to the *Stream* of his former Education, and to that *eminent Figure* which in all probability he might have aspired to in the Church) as an *Introduction* to some secret *Project*, which at present they could not comprehend, but soon after became fully informed in it. For the aforesaid Farmers going off, *Sheridon* (before their time was fully expired) obtains leave from them to go for *London*, and there the *Vizard* he had formerly *worn* was soon *thrown* off, and he (as in his proper colours) appeared an absolute *Creature* of the Duke of *York*'s, and at that time a great Consult was held to bring on the Deliverance of *Ireland*. For now the poor *Catholicks* there (after their late disappointment in the before-mentioned Intriegue of the Corporation) were almost in despair, and moreover his *Royal Highness* was in danger of losing his most faithful adherents, many hundreds of them having continued there *incognito* since the L—*B*—'s time, expecting to be *Officers*; and these Men were very impatient.

1673. The Earl of *Essex* was then in the *Government* of *Ireland*, a person whose great integrity and prudence in the steady piloting of this tottering Ship of the State, is not easie to describe. This Skilful Manager of the *Helm*, *Steer'd* so judiciously, at this nice juncture, that notwithstanding the unwearied endeavours of the Papists, nothing could be effected to their advantage, whilest he kept the *Sword*. Wherefore a Project

Project was thought on to take the Farm of the Revenue of *Ireland*, by which the whole Revenue of the Kingdom muſt paſs through their hands; beſides that, this offered to them the command of the Sea-Ports, together with the conveniency of employing in the Revenue, Fifteen Hundred Officers fit for their purpoſe. This being ſet on foot, took well, and *Sheridon* acted his ſhare in it with great applauſe: For his being a Collector (added to his Natural Ingenuity and great parts) had now rendred him a great Proficient in the Affairs of the Cuſtoms and the Revenue. The Caution required in the management of this Intriegue, hindered the Duke from appearing in it, and *Coleman* was deem'd alſo a perſon very unfit to be concerned: for though he aſſumed the ſhape of a *Proteſtant* at that time, yet was he ſhrewdly ſuſpected of *Popery*.

After ſeveral Debates, it was concluded, That 1675.
Sheridon was the moſt proper inſtrument to carry on this affair; but then his credit in *London* was not conſiderable enough for a matter of this great moment: So after ſeveral attempts, recourſe was at laſt had to one *Muſchamp*, then in *London*, an old Projector, and one of the preſent *Farmers*, but a poor man. This *Muſchamp* acquaints another greater Projector than himſelf, one Sir *J. S.* but he was a man of moderate fame, however they could get none of ſubſtance to joyn with them, and both theſe were projecting heads, and acquainted with Sir *W. P.* a man of *Ireland* of a great fortune, and whoſe *Principles* were moſt conſonant to this concern; who upon the propoſal being made

to him, embrac'd it with this assurance of having men of Estates joyned with them. This being related by *Sheridon* to the Duke and *Coleman*, to effect it, 'twas found necessary to draw in some man of value, which seem'd to be a matter of great difficulty. But at last one *Ryder* (a young man that had of his own, and Sisters Fortune, Twenty Thousand Pounds) was named, but his being publickly known as an intimate Favourite of the Duke's, was lookt upon as almost an inseparable Obstacle: For all matters relating to *Ireland*, were so closely and tenderly handled; that notwithstanding the Duke carried the greatest stroak, yet acted so much at a distance, that he appeared to be outwardly unconcerned. However the exigency of this affair was such as necessitated him to shew himself more *open* in this than upon former occasions; and therefore to facilitate their purpose, *Ryder* was engaged, together with some other small men, who were also prevailed upon. The business thus lain, they appeared upon the *Stage*, and bid for the whole *Revenue* of *Ireland*.

The Earl of *Essex*, who received constant intelligence from *Court*, and from some of the *Popish Clergy* in *Ireland*, about this time had an account of designs to remove him from the *Government*; and how one part lay in taking the *Farm*:
1675. upon which he obtains leave to go for *England*, leaving the Lord *Primate*, and the Lord *Granard* Justices. Upon his arrival at Court, he perceived the *Game ran high* for *Popery*, and the best way to prevent it, was not by downright opposition;

ſition; he therefore concludes upon a more prevailing method, which was to make court to the Duke of *York*, which he managed with ſo much art, and ſo skilful an Addreſs (as indeed he was very capable of doing beyond their *Conclave at* Rome) that notwithſtanding it was reſolved that he ſhould depart; yet was he kept ſo long in *England*, till orders came from the *Holy Fathers*, for his return to *Ireland*.

He had ſo far wound himſelf into the Duke's good opinion of him, that he thought him ſecure for their Party; and as the firſt teſtimony of his Integrity, he had Inſtructions from him to promote *Sheridon* and the *Farmers*: which the Earl managed with ſuch great wiſdom, as at once to pleaſe the Duke, and yet to be ſerviceable to the *Proteſtants* of *Ireland*, who had now been in a loſt, irrecoverable condition, if his admirable Conduct had not prevented it.

And now this great Man returns for *Ireland* to *ſteer* again in that Government threatened by approaching Tempeſts; the *Farmers* alſo going over, enter upon their buſineſs. Sir *W. P.* became very notorious in declaring not only to employ *Papiſts*, but that he would have the Prieſts collect the *Hearth-money*. Some were apt to believe that this was done on purpoſe to get off: but thoſe who were moſt intimate with him, ſpeak quite otherwiſe, and that the hopes of being created a Lord, and a Privy Counſellor, ſo tranſported him beyond all the bounds of moderation, as induced him to take this violent courſe, the more to ingratiate himſelf with the Duke; but like the Aſs in the 1676.

Fable, beat his Maſter down in imitation of the Spaniels fawning; and though he was a man of great Learning, and of a Mathematical Head, and bred abroad, yet ſo vehemently deſirous of Riches, as hurried him often into great Extravagancies.

The Earl of *Eſſex* being Landed in *Ireland*, had a difficult Game to *play*, he had ('tis believed) made fair Promiſes of being kind to the *Iriſh*, and to ſtand by the *Farmers*; to the firſt he gave good words, and received them well at Court: but the Farmers they began to model their Officers, and if ſome ſpeedy and effectual ſtop was not put to theſe Proceedings, the whole Ports of the Kingdom would ſoon be in *Papiſts* hands, which was like to prove a matter of moſt dangerous conſequence. To defeat this Intriegue, required a more than ordinary preſence of mind, and a deep foreſight, which as this wiſe Earl was endowed with in a very high meaſure, ſo did he ſignally ſhew it upon this occaſion. There was but one way to effect it, and that was by raiſing ſcruples, as to the value of the Farmers and their Securities; but this he muſt not appear in, but inſtructs ſome of his Confidents of the Council, to act that part for him, and there was one, who, till this late Cataſtrophe, was thought to be of great Integrity and Honour; the Lord *Granard* he was bold and daring, and a Mortal Enemy to Sir *J. S.* wherefore he moves at the Council-Board, that inſpection ſhould be made into the Securities of theſe Farmers. The Propoſal was well accepted by the reſt of the Council: For indeed they were Men, (as Sir *W. P.* ſaid truly of them) *viz. Farmers pick'd up in the Streets, with*

this

this diſadvantage, that take the firſt ſeven men you meet, and they ſhall exceed theſe for every thing, but cheating. The Earl of *Eſſex* ſeemed to oppoſe the Council in this Vote, put it off, and acquainted the Farmers, and alſo gave an account of it to the Duke, whom he had now ſo far gain'd upon as to become a Confident. But every day uſher'd in new Complaints againſt the Farmers running away with the Money of the Kingdom, *&c.* which for ſome time the Earl ſeemed to decline; but at laſt (in appearance againſt the Grain) agrees with the Council, and ſends over to the King the Objections againſt the Farmers, which in ſhort were ſo great, that they were not to be truſted. Whereupon *Commiſſioners* of *inſpection* were ſet over them; one was the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Confident: and theſe men attended to the motion of the Farmers with ſo vigilant an eye, that nothing could be effected.

In this manner was this great and dangerous Plot (carried on for ſeveral years by the Duke and his Minions) moſt miraculouſly defeated by the unparallell'd Conduct of that Prudent Earl, who ſo far out-vy'd the *Romiſh Politicks*, as to cajole that party into an approbation of thoſe Proceedings, which proved fatally deſtructive of their deſign: which ſo diſheartened thoſe two accomplices, *R*---- and *Sheridon*, that they flung up their Parts, and returned to Court; the laſt to attend his Maſter *Coleman*, who happened to come in a fit time to ſucceed him in his Employment: for not long after this, the *Popiſh Plot* was brought upon the Stage, in which *Coleman*

was

was Prime Miniſter, who being afterwards Executed, and *Sheridon* ſpeaking ſomething in favour of his cauſe, was apprehended, and after ſome time was brought on his knees at the *Bar* of the *Houſe of Commons*, where he had impudence beyond humane ſhape, to ſet forth in a flouriſhing Speech the greatneſs of his Family, (*viz.*) that he was in the right Line of the Kings of *Ulſter*, anciently called *O Sheridon*; that to his Father belonged a vaſt Eſtate, which by the misfortune of War (meaning the former Rebellion) he was wrongfully put out of; with abundance of the like impudent falſhoods, and moſt notorious untruths. Whereas indeed his Father (too honeſt a man for ſo baſe, and ſo degenerate a Son) was before the late Rebellion in the County of *Caven*, taken in a poor Boy into a Biſhop's Houſe for a Turn-ſpit; and the Biſhop obſerving the Boy to be of a Docible Temper, and capable of inſtruction, and finding him educated a *Papiſt*, charitably put him to School, where he was taught his Grammar, and was found to be ſo induſtrious a Proficient in School-learning, as encouraged the good Biſhop to Ordain him a Deacon, in which capacity he continued under the Biſhop till he died. And when the Rebellion broke out ſo violently, that few *Engliſh* were left in the Countrey; yet this poor man remained with ſuch as ſtayed, and read Prayers among them, till all were either Murthered, or had deſerted the place. But he being a poor Old Man, and having nothing to remove, continued where he was, the *Iriſh* ſuffering him to reſide amongſt them; but by all their Importunities (notwithſtanding their great

great eagerneſs to make Converts, compaſſing both Sea and Land, to proſelyte any to their Church) could never prevail upon him to go to Maſs. This Man had three Sons, which (as well as thoſe turbulent times would admit) he educated *Proteſtants*, and upon *Oliver*'s reduction of *Ireland*, he was ſo taken with the Character of this poor man, which was faithfully repreſented to him by the *Engliſh* of the North, that he not only ordered a maintenance for himſelf, but alſo for his three Sons, whom he ordered to be maintained in the Colledge near *Dublin*, where they all improved themſelves to an eminent degree of Learning and parts. This is an Impartial Account of *Thomas Sheridon*'s Pedigree, whoſe Siſters and other Relations, were in *Brogs* and *Kerchiefs*, the *Iriſh* Garb for Women. The Author ſaw them not many years ago in this condition, and knowing this Story of *Sheridon*, was heightened in his Curioſity of being the more inquiſitive after it in the County where his Father was born, and found that he was of the *Stologues*, a Name which the *Iriſh* call *Cotchers*.—— And none of his Kindred, as the *Iriſh* affirm, were ever better. I ſhould not have given the Reader the trouble of this Digreſſion, but that I deemed it not altogether unpleaſant to him to repreſent the unparallell'd Impudence of this Man, who could attempt to ſpeak of his high Extraction before the *Houſe of Commons*, when the meanneſs of his Original and Deſcent was ſo univerſally known in moſt parts of the North of *Ireland*. But to what degrees of extravagancy will not the Confidence of

of an *Iriſh-man* tranſport him? And whither will not that audacious Arrogance (with which the Natives of that Kingdom are moſt plentifully ſtock'd) carry and invite them? The ridiculous Genealogies which the *Iriſh* have framed of themſelves, as to their *Heroical Anceſtry*, Antiquity of their Nation, their eminency for Literature and extraordinary Piety in former Ages, are Fopperies not to be wondered at; when in theſe days the Author by his own Experience can give an account of ſeveral of the *Iriſh* Gentry, who have laid aſide both their former Names, and Relations, and have created new ones to themſelves, which they pretend to be derived from a numerous train of Noble Progenitors, though this be publickly known to be a Chimerical and Fictitious Invention.

But to return again to the Earl of *Eſſex*, (from whence this account of *Sheridon*, has caus'd me to digreſs) though his politick Carriage in the buſineſs of the aforeſaid Farmers, diſcovered a dextrous and prudent Government; yet did it contract upon him the hatred of the Duke of *York*, who from this time ſet up private deſigns againſt him, which the Earl had conſtant intelligence of; but at laſt was not able to withſtand them, the prejudice riſing ſo high, till the Duke
1677. obtained a reſolve for his removal from the Government. The way to accompliſh this, was to find out a man that would lend the King Money, and the Earl of *Bridlington* was pitched upon. *Talbot* had (by the Relation of a Brother

ther of his Married into that Family) ſome intereſt, but was not looked upon as a fit perſon to break it to the *Earl*; ſo another was found by the Earl of *Orrery*'s means, who had been diſobliged by the Earl of *Eſſex*, and by that way it was purſued. But though the Earl of *Bridlington* might have had a mind to the Government, yet would he part with no Mony, and the King's neceſſities were the great inducement whereby to prevail upon him to remove *Eſſex*, and *Bridlington* being unwilling to ſupply 'em, no other pretence could be found out to work on the King.

'Twas admired by all for what reaſons the Earl of *Bridlington* ſhould be thought on, in regard that none but the *Duke*'s Party were in the Intriegue. But the *Romiſh Faction* well underſtood, that although the Earl of *Bridlington* was not fit to carry on their main Deſign; yet they knew him governable, and were in hopes to put things upon him, that might bring matters into a leading way for another they had in their Eye, not fit here to be named. But theſe things miſſing of their deſigned effect, they were now at a full ſtop, though no occaſions were omitted of making dayly Objections againſt the Earl of *Eſſex*.

The *Popiſh Conſpiracy* (as has been already hinted in diſcourſing upon *Sheridon*) advanced apace by *Coleman*, and the *Parliament* began now to be apprehenſive of the preſent proceedings, and of the *Alliance* with *France*, which they utterly diſapproved of. The L ——— *B* ——— was ſent in quality of the King's *Embaſſador* to *France*,

and Sir *Ellis Leaton*, his Secretary in *Ireland*, accompany'd him; but neither of 'em were judged fit to be truſted with the ſecret Deſigns. For at that time there was a Deſign for the *French* to ſet up their Demands for the *Iriſh*, to have the *Articles* made by King *Charles* the Second with the *French* King in their favour, to be performed; and the King of *England* was to admit the *French* to land Men, under pretence of being got by private compact of the *Iriſh*. The Earl of *Tyrone*, Lord *Brittas*, and others, being to raiſe Men in *Ireland*, in order to make a Diverſion to the putting the *Popiſh Plot* in force in *England*. But the whole of this was kept private from the King, only ſo much of it as referred to the *French* King's demanding the Promiſes, made by him (when in *Exile*) in favour of the *Iriſh*. The *Duke* undertook to qualifie the King, if any diſcovery ſhould be made of the *Iriſh* intended *Inſurrection*; but this was divulged by ſome of the *Iriſh*, and the King hardly prevailed with not to believe it. The L—— *B*—— was recall'd from *France*, and ſent to *Nimeguen*, and Complaints were made by ſome Merchants againſt Sir *Ellis Leaton*, who being queſtioned before the King and Council, ſpoke very intemperately, and among other words, ſaid, He wonder'd how theſe Merchants durſt preſume to ſpeak any thing againſt the greateſt King in *Europe*, as the *French* King was; for which indecent Expreſſion, he was committed; it being juſtly accounted great impudence for him to affirm, in the preſence of the King, That there was any other King, greater than himſelf.

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The King and Council finding ſome cauſe to believe, that there were Deſigns of introducing *Popery* in *Ireland*, pitch'd upon the Duke of *Ormond* as the only Pilot for that Kingdom in a Storm; and accordingly he was ſent over. The *Duke* of *York* did not then think it ſeaſonable to oppoſe it, though he was conſcious 'twas fatal to his Deſign. But however he wrought ſo powerfully with the King, That orders were given to raiſe Men in *Ireland*, under the Notion of Foreign Service. They were all compoſed of the *Natives* of the Kingdom, excepting ſome Proteſtant *Officers* fit to make *Catholicks* of. The *Duke* of *Ormond* would give them no Arms, ſo they were Exercifed with Sticks; and in a little time the Plot in *England* was diſcovered, and they all disbanded. Upon which a diſcovery was made by the *Iriſh*, of the *Popiſh Conſpiracy* in *Ireland*, and it was very remarkable, that in the whole diſcovery, not one *Proteſtant* appeared as an evidence againſt the *Papiſts*. A pregnant inſtance of the great impartiality and equal demeanour of the *Engliſh* towards the *Natives*, who altho' they were now preſented with various opportunities of deſtroying thoſe, whom they knew to be their implacable Adverſaries; yet declin'd all Informations againſt them, a practice as peculiar to thoſe of the *Proteſtant Communion*, as different from the *Indirect Principles*, and barbarous proceedings of that of the *Church* of *Rome*, as has been but too manifeſt, in thoſe horrid Perjuries, and notoriouſly falſe Accuſations, which the *Iriſh* have been palpably convinced of, in their daily 1677. 1678.

Impeachments of the *English*, in the *Reign* of the late King *James*, as will appear in the Sequel of this Discourse. But notwithstanding that 'tis so universal a practice of the *Irish* to swear such of the *English* (as they bear prejudice to) out of their Lives and Estates, if possible, or at least so vigorously endeavour it, as to stick at no *Affidavit* how inconsistent soever with truth, or but a rational probability; yet were the *English* more just than to transcribe so base an Example, or to propose that impious Maxim of the *Romish Church*, *Of doing Evil, that Good may come of it*, as a Rule of their Imitation, which the Apostle St. *Paul* has so plainly pronounced *Damnation* unto. And indeed if we descend to an impartial enquiry after the opposite Principles of the Two Churches in this case, we shall no longer wonder at the great integrity of the *English*, nor at that barbarous Violation (in the other Party) of a *Rite* of the greatest *Solemnity*, and most *Sacred Institution*, which all Christians ought to account an *Oath* to be, and which the whole Christian Church (except that lame and corrupt part of it which we call the *Romish*) does upon its being administred under legal and requisite circumstances, justly reckon as indissoluble. But what if the other *Christian Churches*, which are but a vile Rabble of *Heretiks* and *Schismatiks* (though if dividing Christendom into five parts, they make up more than three) can pretend to no *dispensing* power in this case; yet what cannot the *Vicar* of *Christ* do *in Cathedrâ*, who has the *Keys* of Heaven at his *Girdle*, and can *lock* and *unlock* as he

he pleaſes, according to our Saviour's *Commiſſion*, which he will needs have limited to his Perſon, as his *Vicarial* Prerogative, but unlimited in its *Authority*; *whatſoever ſins ye remit, they are remitted*; *and whatſoever ſins ye retain, they are retained.* But to leave this deſpotick power of *Abſolution* in the Chair of Infallibility, which (God be thanked) we are neither ambitious of, nor do pretend to, it will not be unreaſonable to conſider, that whatever complaints were made by the *Iriſh* as to their ſevere uſage in the *Popiſh Conſpiracy* (of which they make many tedious harangues) 'twas plain that if there was any ſuch, 'twas acted by thoſe of their own Party, and ſuch as profeſſed their own *Religion*, who were indeed the fitteſt Agents for ſo black an Intriegue, there being none of the *Engliſh* any way intereſted in it. Neither can I omit mentioning the great Integrity and Juſtice of the *Duke* of *Ormond*, then *Lord Lieutenant*, in his unbyaſſed and equal management of this Affair. For though prejudice and partiality might have prepoſſeſs'd ſome Men, and have ſerved to awaken their reſentments againſt the *Iriſh* at ſuch a Juncture as this; yet did he carry himſelf with ſo ſingle an eye, and obſerved ſo ſteady and even a courſe, that 'twas difficult to perceive the leaſt deflection in him upon either hand: 'tis true indeed the Law had its due courſe; but this was owing to the *Evidence*, which thoſe of their own *Party* and *Religion* made againſt their Aſſociates in the Conſpiracy; and therefore if any irregularity was committed, it cannot juſtly to charged upon the *Duke* or his *Subordinate Miniſters*, by whom the whole

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was managed with an equal Moderation and indifferency.

But I pass from these Reflections upon the Carriage of the *Duke* of *Ormond* and the *Protestants*, to a Discourse of Affairs relating to the *Plot* in *Ireland*: upon the discovery whereof,
1678. Orders came from *England* to disarm the *Papists*; but they received such timely notice of the Design, by their *Creatures* at Court, that there was not found two hundred Arms in all *Ireland*, the *Irish* having a contrivance of concealing their Arms by thrusting them into *Boggs*, filling the *Barrels* of their *Guns* with *Butter*, which suffers them not to take any harm; and as for the *Locks* they can easily hide them. The Lord *Brittas* and others made their Escape for *France*, but the Earl of *Tyrone* was taken, and committed to the *Gate-house*. *Sheridon* was seized in *London*, but nothing could be proved against him. *Talbot*, now *Tyrconnel*, was confined a Prisoner in the *Castle* of *Dublin*, together with his *Brother*, the *Titular Archbishop*, where he dyed. The *Duke* of *York* went for *Flanders*; which made the *Irish* even to despair, and made one of their *Lords* to declare, with a great Oath, That he believed Jesus Christ was a Protestant, for that nothing they could do did prosper. The *Duke* of *Ormond* was extreamly sollicitous to settle the *Militia* in *Ireland*, and ordered their watching equal with the Army. And now notwithstanding the publick fears of the *Popish Conspiracy* in *England* and *Ireland*; yet was the *English Interest* in *Ireland* of greater value than ever, grounded

grounded upon a general Opinion of the *Engliſh*, that the Plots of the *Iriſh* were now ſo fully unravell'd, that the King would extend no favour to them for the future.

The Duke of *York* goes for *Scotland*, and with him the *Second Coleman*, *Thomas Sheridon*, who ſtill profeſs'd himſelf a *Proteſtant*, though his Actions at this time gave a ſufficient Demonſtration to the contrary: For from *Scotland* he writ over private Encouragements to the *Popiſh* Party in *Ireland*, and put them in ſome hopes. But the *Engliſh* were not apprehenſive of any danger, improving their Eſtates, and the Trade of the Kingdom more than ever, and never eſteeming themſelves more happy than at this juncture, as being quietly ſeated under the Care and Influence of the Duke of *Ormond*'s Government, who now endeavours to have a Parliament called in *Ireland*, and ſucceeded ſo far as to obtain a Grant; in purſuance whereof a Bill drawn by the Lord Lieutenant and Council, is ſent over to the King: but the Duke of *York*'s intereſt interceding, obſtructed any farther Progreſs, who came with all expedition from *Scotland* to put a ſtop to that deſign; which the *Iriſh* were ſo confident of before it was done, that they ſtuck not to affirm that they were well aſſured there would be no Parliament whilſt King *Charles* lived, and would frequently diſcourſe with that liberty and boldneſs, as if the Duke of *York* had been actually Seated in the Throne, upon a Preſumption that he would arrive ſpeedily to it.

Ireland

Ireland had now continued for two or three years in great Tranquillity and Quiet, when upon a ſuddain a Stratagem was ſet on foot, lain as deep as Hell, and yet ſeemingly for the advantage of the *Engliſh*, which take as follows: In the Settlement of *Ireland*, there were overplus and concealed Lands, ſaid to be in the poſſeſſion of divers of the *Engliſh*, but in truth much more in that of the *Iriſh*. Now to inſure the Titles of the *Engliſh* from any future Diſcoveries (as was
1683. pretended) a Court of Grace was to be erected, where all that would, had the opportunity of putting in their *Claims*: and upon proving their poſſeſſion, and compounding with the Commiſſioners for payment of ſuch a ſum, as they thought fit to impoſe on them; they were to paſs new Patents. It was alſo given out, that it was ſafe for all new Intereſts, to paſs that Court, and that it would ſtrengthen their Titles. This Policy had its intended effect, for many perſons came in, and conſiderable Sums of Money were paid. But under what plauſible pretext ſoever this Court was ſet up, 'twas ſoon perceived as a ſnare to the *Engliſh*: For its deſign was to make a narrow inſpection into all Mens Titles, and thereby to diſcover what advantage might be derived from it. For by the Act of Settlement, all the forfeited Lands in *Ireland* were only inveſted in the King, as a *Royal Truſtee*, for the uſe of the Soldiers and Adventurers, and could be no way diſpoſed of, but according to the intent of that Act. Now whereas there were ſeveral *Iriſh* out of their Lands decreed them by the Act for want of Repriſals;

priſals; the King's Patent could not give any Land away, but in purſuance to the intent of the Act. By which it appears, that this Court was erected to prepare Pretences for the *Iriſh*, when opportunity ſhould invite; and though all this was negotiated through the Duke's Intereſt: yet none of that party appeared in it, but the whole of it was tranſacted by the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, who had the Money got by Fines out of it.

Becauſe there will be occaſion in the farther diſcovery of this Treachery, to name a principal Actor in the Cataſtrophe of *Ireland*, I ſhall now nominate him that was the Abettor and Contriver of this miſchief, 'twas one *W.* who ſometime before bought a Judge's place in the Exchequer for Eight Hundred Pounds. This Judge was found a fit Tool to make uſe of, and being a Cunning *ambo-dexter* formed this Intriegue, which had proved fatal to the *Proteſtant* Intereſt of *Ireland*, if affairs had ſucceeded in the ſame Current they had now put them. But I muſt not forget to add, that to make this poiſon go down the more eaſie, the Pill was gilded over: Moſt of the Judges were made Commiſſioners, and had part of the Fines; the *Lawyers* and *Attorneys* got Money by the Court: ſo that conſequently all that were capable of underſtanding the Cheat, were intereſſed as Parties in the Intriegue, and by this means ſome of the Lawyers and Attorneys purchaſed Eſtates, to the ruine of the former Poſſeſſors. And 'tis to be obſerved, that in the ſeveral Deſigns of the *Papiſts*, *Proteſtants* were the Tools, whereby they acted, by which they appeared to have nothing of *Catholick* in them.

And now to force men into this Tonnel, another Oppreſſion was impos'd upon the Subject, and that was, that no man ſhould paſs Patent for *Fairs*, *Markets*, *Mannors*, &c. without paſſing his Eſtate through this Court: whereas by the Act of Settlement all perſons had liberty for the improvement of the Countrey, to paſs Patent for them, ſo that they were not within three Miles of one another.

Here you may perceive a moſt black deſign ſpeciouſly repreſented as a fit occaſion to lay hold on, whereby to corroborate the *Engliſh* Intereſt, though in truth nothing could more effectually weaken the *Proteſtants* Titles to their Eſtates, and ſtrengthen or improve thoſe of the *Iriſh*; and this not only managed, but at firſt ſet up by a *Proteſtant*. And indeed this gave a more plauſible colour to it, and made it the more eaſily gain belief with the *Engliſh*, that the true Reaſons of its erection, were the ſame with thoſe that were pretended, becauſe firſt advanced by one of their own Party: A ſad thing indeed, that *Engliſhmen* and *Proteſtants*, ſhould by baſe and unworthy Compliances become ſuch Servile Inſtruments to the advancement of the *Popiſh* Cauſe! A Calamity which as it had made ſome ſteps before, ſo did it improve to an infinite Progreſs, when the late King *James* was in poſſeſſion of the Throne. In which time, too many men, who were reputed *Proteſtants*, through a mean, and puſillanimous Diſpoſition, were not ſeldom Co-adjutors with the *Papiſts* in ſuch violent Proceedings,

ceedings, as carried a direct oppoſition to the Laws, and their Religion.

But to proceed where I left off: The Duke of *Ormond*, perceiving by the tendency of theſe Affairs, that the *Romiſh* deſign was agitated with greater earneſtneſs than ever, with great difficulty obtains leave to go for *England*, and purſuant to that comes over, leaving his Son, the Earl of *Arran*, Lord Deputy. Upon his Arrival at 1683.
Court, he a ſecond time attempts a Parliament, but ineffectually; upon which diſappointment he returns again for *Ireland*, with an heavy heart, as he himſelf declared to a Great Man of that Kingdom. He had Inſtructions to Regiment the Army, and ſome other things that were Preparatives to what followed ſoon after. But now the Fatal Stroke was come, the Death of the King, a Myſtery not to be inquired into, though 1684.
one can hardly omit remarking that the *Iriſh Papiſts* could for ſome time before fix upon the utmoſt Period of that Reign, and the Duke was ſent for in haſte from *Scotland* three years before, without any apparent reaſon for it, beſides that, the King's permiſſion was obtained with ſome difficulty.

From this time we may Commence the Date of the *Iriſh* greatneſs: Fate now ſmil'd upon 'em, and that which they had long expected with ſo much impatience and importunity, which had coſt them ſo much pains, and had involved them in ſuch great Perplexities: That which had expoſed them to ſo many dangers, and been ſo fre-

quently blaſted with croſs Accidents and various Diſappointments, was now fallen into their Lap. Now their long-look'd for day was come, and their Game which had been play'd with ſo much difficulty and loſs, did now aſſure them of better ſucceſs. Theſe Apprehenſions ſo tranſported them with ſuch pleaſant Raptures, as were eminently viſible in all their actions, eſpecially in Publick Days of Rejoycing, as the day of the King's Proclaiming that of his Coronation, the Birth of the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and the like: in all which they demonſtrated the moſt extravagant Symptoms of a Superlative Joy, which they expreſs'd in making of Bonfires, Beating of Drums, playing upon the Bag-pipes, and other Muſical Inſtruments, in Drinking, and Serenading in the night time, forcing the *Engliſh* out of their Beds, and breaking open their Doors, and drinking Confuſion to the Kings Enemies upon their Knees: by which 'twas plain that they underſtood the *Proteſtants*. And all theſe unlawful Revellings oftentimes continued for two or three Nights and Days without intermiſſion, wherein ſuch of the *Engliſh* as refus'd to joyn with them to that extravagant height, were accounted Perſons diſaffected to the Government, called *Fanatick* and *Oliverian Dogs*, with the like Expreſſions of Calumny and Reproach. But this was not all; the moſt judicious of them, were now ſo animated in their hopes, that 'twas impoſſible for them to bear them any longer with moderation, or to contain themſelves from the moſt violent Outrages, and from inſtigating the Rabble to ſteal from, and rob the *Engliſh*,

Engliſh, which at firſt was looked upon as the moſt Expeditious Contrivance, whereby to expel them the Kingdom. The Duke of *Ormond* foreſaw what was now paſt remedy, and told a Friend of his, that nothing could now preſerve the *Engliſh* but a precipitateneſs of the *Iriſh*: *For* (ſaid he) *let my Countreymen alone, and they will ſpoil their own buſineſs*: And ſo indeed they had in any time but this, when it might be ſaid according to our Saviour's Prediction, *That the time was come, when they that deſtroyed the* Proteſtants, *thought they did God ſervice.*

King *James* and his former (but now more eſpecial) Favourites the *Iriſh*, were now equally furious in their courſe, and ſeemed to contend (the one in his Commands, the other in their forward Obedience) which ſhould exceed in their joynt deſign of extirpating Hereſie. The Duke of *Ormond* was called over, but before his departure, laboured with an Indefatigable diligence, to eſtabliſh matters on ſuch a foundation, ſo as that it might not be eaſie for them to create a preſent change, without a manifeſt violation and infringement of the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Kingdom. The new Hoſpital, a ſtately Fabrick near *Dublin*, erected for poor Soldiers, would (he foreſaw) be made a Neſt for Hornets, which to prevent, as well as poſſible, he ſate ſeveral days with the Council and Judges in private, in the Caſtle, and there made all the proviſion that could be for it, againſt the imminent ſtorm. One remarkable Paſſage I muſt not omit to mention, which demonſtrates the great ſpirit of that ex- 1684.

excellent person. At the aforesaid Hospital he appointed a Dinner for all the Officers of the Hospital, and the Officers of the Army then in *Dublin*; which being over, he took a large Glass of Wine in his hand, bid them fill it to the brim, then stood up and called to all the Company. **Look here, Gentlemen, they say at Court, I am now become an Old Doating Fool; you see my Hand doth not shake, nor does my Heart fail, no doubt but I will make some of them see their Mistake;** and so drank the Kings Health: But upon his Arrival at Court found that King *James*'s Bigotted Opinion would carry him to the most violent actions; a dismal apprehension whereof (as is believed) at length broke his heart; for though he was of a great Age, yet was he of such health of Body, and cheerfulness of mind, that in course of nature he might have lived Twenty Years longer, as his Mother did. 'Twas plain, that the *Irish* could fasten no Calumnies upon him, when the first thing they reproached him with, was Cheating the Army in building the Hospital, and that *Robinson* the Architect had inriched himself by it: when indeed not to lessen any thing of his due Character, *Robinson* shewed the parts of an Excellent Artist in the Contrivance, and of an Honest Man in the Charge, as men of Value and Experience in Building affirm.

1685. Upon the Duke of *Ormond*'s removal, the Government was put into the hands of the Lord *Primate*, and the Lord *Granard*, in the Quality of Lords Justices. The *Irish* fell immediately to their

their old trade of making Plots, but with this difference, That whereas they had formerly been the Actors themſelves, they now placed them upon the *Engliſh*, which they daily impeached of deſigns againſt the King and the Government: The Grandees had the confidence to appear in Vindication of ſuch Evidence as was given againſt the *Engliſh*, (though it was altogether as unreaſonable as untrue) and preſs'd the Lords Juſtices for Orders of Council to empower *Iriſh Papiſts*, and Mongrel *Proteſtants* to examine them, and to commit (if they ſaw cauſe) without Bail, any perſon impeached. This Arbitrary Power, the Lords Juſtices, and Council, would not agree to; yet were ſo hectored and inſulted upon by them, that they iſſued out Orders of Council to examin and commit, but always they were directed to *Proteſtants*, which wearied the *Iriſh* of that Stratagem.

One thing has been omitted, which was, that before the Duke of *Ormond* left the Government, an Order came for regulating the Council, which he left for the Juſtices to do, and moſt of the *Engliſh* (that were active) of the Privy Council were turned out, but as yet no *Iriſh Papiſts* put in. The *Iriſh* Lords and Gentry repaired in great numbers to *Dublin*, and as well Gentry as Commonalty of the Natives in all places reproached the *Proteſtants* and their Religion, with all the Calumnies and Impious Reflections, that the rankeſt Satyriſts could invent. At *Leſlip* ſeven Miles from *Dublin*, the Lord *Clanriccard*, Sir *Valentine Browne* (now created a Viſcount by the late King *James*) Colonel *Moore*, and ſome others

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upon their Knees, drank Confuſion to all *Proteſtants* and their Religion. This was taken notice of, and the wiſer ſort of their Party blamed theſe Men for their forwardneſs, as judging it could not be ſafe to go on ſo faſt; but to ſtifle the noiſe of it, ſuch as were Eye-witneſſes of the Fact, and threatened for not Pledging the Health, were ſeized with Warrants, and menac'd with having their Throats cut, and the like terrifying Arts, if they denied not the thing. Sir *Standiſh Harſton* one of the Barons of the Exchequer, was threatened to be eaſed of his Employment, if he took not off his Son-in-Law who reported the matter.

Theſe daily repeated Inſolences of the *Iriſh* made the Lords Juſtices weary of their Government; and one of them (the Lord *Granard*) writ to *England* to be diſmiſt. But in a Conſult of the *Papiſts*, it was reſolved, to repreſent him as a Man fit to be kept in; for that his intereſt was very prevalent in the North among the *Scots*, and had for many years in King *Charles*'s Reign been a Penſioner, and had Five Hundred Pounds *per Annum* given him to diſtribute among the *Presbyterian Clergy*; of which Perſwaſion his Lady was. For the aforeſaid Conſiderations, and beſides, that he was a Popular Man in the Army, 'twas judged convenient to retain him in the Government: For which end King *James* writ him a Letter with his own hand, with great Promiſes, and aſſurance that nothing ſhould be acted prejudicial to the *Proteſtant* Intereſt, which at that time this Lord was accounted to be zealous for, however he has now prevaricated.

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Monmouth's Rebellion ſoon broke out, and 1685.
ſome were apt to believe that *Granard* was in ſuſpence who to declare for; but the Lord *Primate* was a perſon of firm, and inviolable Loyalty, and his unalterable ſteadineſs hindered the other from deſerting. Theſe two perſons by their united Intereſts, one for the Church, the other for the Diſſenters, kept things in a quiet poſture in *Ireland*, and were ſo Cajol'd by King *James*, as made them not only of opinion, but perſwaded others to be ſo too, that the King would never expoſe himſelf to the hazard of preferring *Papiſts* in that Kingdom, where the *Engliſh* and *Scots* were ſo unanimous againſt 'em: And beſides that, they were ſo well furniſhed with Arms, as having the Arms of the Militia (ſo lately ſetled) in their hands: But the *Popiſh* Party grew bold and inſolent, and every day afforded but too convincing occaſions of new fears to the *Proteſtants*.

Monmouth's Diſcomfiture gave liberty to the *Iriſh* (more than ever) to contrive Plots, and to faſten them upon the *Proteſtants*, which put the whole Kingdom into a Ferment; for the *Iriſh* pretended, that the *Proteſtants* aſſembled together in great numbers in the night: and to gain the more credit to theſe Helliſh Inventions, the Vulgar *Iriſh* were inſtructed to leave their Houſes, and to hide every Night in their Bogs, upon a pretence of fear that the *Engliſh* would come in the Night and cut their Throats; a Practice as notorious in the Church of *Rome*, as unheard of among *Proteſtants*, and which there could not

be the leaſt Ground or Foundation for, at this juncture. For beſides that in moſt parts of the Kingdom the *Iriſh* were infinitely more numerous than the *Engliſh*; nay, in ſome an hundred Families for one, (I ſuppoſe I ſpeak much ſhort of the true account) which ſhewed the impoſſibility of putting any ſuch thing in execution, had it been ever intended, and muſt needs be accounted an abſurd and ridiculous contrivance to any man of common ſenſe. So were the *Iriſh* (though conſcious to themſelves of their own Bloody Actions in the former Rebellion) well enough aſſured that the *Engliſh* never imagined, much leſs would attempt any ſuch thing. They were convinced as well by their Practices (which had been but too favourable and indulgent to the Natives in the former Reign) as by the Principles of their Religion, that they were not men of Blood; nay, and would frequently confeſs, that they were never known to be addicted to Cruelty and Murther, to Barbarous Maſſacres, and Inhumane Aſſaſſinations, which they could not excuſe ſome of themſelves from. And indeed whoever conſiders the difference betwixt the *Reformed* and *Romiſh Church* in this reſpect, muſt needs acknowledge a moſt ſtrange oppoſition betwixt them. To ſee the Ancient Practices of the *Heathen Emperors*, ſo drawn to the life, nay, out-done by the preſent *Romiſh Faction*, is to ſome a Demonſtration that the Perſecuting Spirit, which reigned with ſo much predominancy in the Infant days of Chriſtianity, is now ſtrongly revived in this degenerate Church, which is apparently in this, and other

other Principles, upon her Retrograde motion to Ancient Gentiliſm. And upon the other hand, whoever conſiders that Spirit of Peace and Meekneſs, of Mercifulneſs and an Univerſal Charity, which governs with ſo abſolute an Empire in the minds of thoſe who have duly embraced our Profeſſion, muſt needs own, That our *Engliſh* carries that *true Badge* and *Characteriſtick Evidence* of Chriſtianity, for which the Primitive Church was juſtly accounted ſo illuſtrious. But not to dwell any longer upon this Reflection, with what malice and injuſtice ſoever the *Engliſh* were repreſented as Night-Walkers, and deſigning to murther the *Iriſh*, yet were Examinations of theſe Impeachments taken by Juſtices of the Peace, calculated for the purpoſe; and theſe were ſent to the Lords Juſtices and Council: and although the Accuſations were notoriouſly falſe, and irrational (as has been already ſhewn) yet for not being proſecuted with that open partiality and rigour, which theſe envious, implacable Spirits were impatient for, Complaints were made to the King by the *Iriſh*, and he to gratifie their malice, ſent private inſtructions, with a Reprimand to the Lords Juſtices, about this affair: Upon which a Proclamation was iſſued forth forbidding all Night-Meetings, *&c.* though the Lords Juſtices and Council well knew there was no ſuch thing. This Artifice of the *Iriſh*, was, but in order to make way for greater miſchief, by preparing Evidences to bring the moſt conſiderable of the *Engliſh* into Plots.

Their firſt onſet was with one *Moor* of *Clonmel*, who was Indicted for *High-Treaſon* before Sir *John Mead* in the Palatinate of *Tipperary*. This *Moor* was a perſon of a vaſt Eſtate, which made them bend their whole force againſt him. Now to countenance the deſign, *Tyrconnel*, and *Juſtin Mac Carthy*, came to *Clonmel* to the Trial, and in the Publick Court aſſum'd to reproach the Judge and the Jury; *Mac Carthy* calling him *Fanatick*, and he and *Talbot* aſperſing him and the Duke of *Ormond* for employing ſuch a *Rogue*, with other Calumnies, in ſuch Language as was only fit for ſuch Blood-hounds to expreſs. Notwithſtanding *Moore* and ſome others that were impeached, were quitted. But ſuch an extravagantly partial account was ſent over to the Court of that action, that the King queſtioned the Duke of *Ormond*, how he came to employ ſuch a *Fanatick*; to which the Duke replied, he did it in duty to his Majeſty, as believing he could not entruſt a better man than one of his Majeſties Servants, for ſo he was when Duke of *York*, being then his Attorney General in *Ireland*.

1685. *Tyrconnel* then began to model the Army, but the introductory part firſt to be performed, was to get in all the Arms from the *Proteſtants*, and this deſign was varniſhed over in as fair Colours as the Ground would bear. But however its direct tendency was plainly obvious and viſible to every Eye. The King and Council writ over to the Lords Juſtices and Council, that there was reaſon to believe that the Rebellion of *Monmouth* had been of that ſpreading Contagion,

gion, as to infect many, and delude more. It was not therefore ſafe for the Kingdom to have the Arms of the Militia diſperſed abroad, but they would be in a greater readineſs for the Militia, and their own defence, to have them depoſited in the ſeveral Stores of each County: Upon which inſtructions a Proclamation iſſued forth, and to make it take the better effect, the Lord *Primate* firſt began with the City of *Dublin*, and ſending for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, makes an Elegant Speech to them, magnifying their unſhaken Loyalty in the worſt of times; and withal adding, that their ready Obedience and prevalent example would be of great ſervice to the King and Kingdom: And in the cloſe of his Speech tells them, that they expected their compliance in bringing in their Arms, which ſhould be always ready for their Service. The City were ſenſible of their condition, but knew likewiſe, that 'twas to no purpoſe to diſpute as to their obedience, ſo brought in their Arms. The Countrey purſu'd this Precedent, and to render the deſign more effectual, the *Iriſh* gave out, That if any Arms were reſerved in the *Proteſtants* hands, ſuch would be interpreted as perſons diſaffected to the King and Government, and that it would be no excuſe to ſay they were their own Arms, and not belonging to the Militia. This frighted many, and operated ſo powerfully, that abundance delivered in their Arms bought with their own money.

The *Proteſtants* being thus diſarmed, *Tyrconnel* proceeds to deſtroying the Army, and firſt begins with the Officers in the ſame method which

which was designed immediately before the Death of the King, which was to displace all Officers that had been in the Parliament, or *Oliver*'s Army, as also the Sons of any such. This the Duke of *Ormond* had directions to proceed in when he came last from *England*; but he made no Progress in it, under pretence of gaining time to find them out, for he foresaw it was to make *room* for *Papists*.

Tyrconnel (for so we must call him for the future) proceeds in his design, and after turning out a great part of the Officers, returns for *England*, and carries along with him one *Neagle* a Cunning *Irish* Lawyer, since Knighted by him: *Neagle*'s Business at *London* was to be engaged in their secret Consults; for he was a man of great parts, educated among the Jesuits, and consequently very inveterate. Upon their Arrival at *London*, 'twas some time e'er *Neagle* could gain admittance to kiss the King's hand, but was constantly with *Father Petre*, and the rest of that Furious Cabal. The Queen was altogether for their Counsels, but the King was not so forwardly inclined, being every day set upon by all his *Popish Lords*, not to proceed too fast, in the revolution of *Ireland*, for that would spoil the general interest of the *Catholicks*: and upon the Lord *Bellasis*, *Powis*, and some others of that *Factions* understanding that *Neagle* was come over, they were so transported with Rage, that they would have him immediately sent out of *London*: But whatever mischiefs he effected in private, his Publick Transactions were of no great prejudice to the *Protestants*. However to compleat

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in Retirement, what he durſt not attempt at Court, and upon the Publick Stage, 'twas agreed in Council, that he ſhould ſet forth by way of a Letter to a Friend, the great Oppreſſion and Injuſtice of the *Act of Settlement*, which he did under the pretence of a two hours waking in a Night at *Coventry*, but was indeed two Weeks labour in *London*. In this Letter he ran ſo high in his *Invectives* againſt King *Charles* the Second, (which nothing but a meer Tyger, or Savage as himſelf would have done) that he durſt not own it to be his, but in *Ireland* gave out, that he would Arreſt any Man in an Action of *Ten Thouſand Pound*, who ſhould father it upon him. But now a Conſult was held (the deſign of *Tyrconnel*'s coming over) and the Debate variouſly canvaſs'd as to a fit Perſon to ſend over for *Ireland*, in quality of Lord *Lieutenant*. *Tyrconnel* was mentioned with ſome tenderneſs, as being a perſon very Obnoxious to the *Engliſh*, and therefore 'twas not thought ſeaſonable (till matters were come to a greater Maturity) to bring him upon the Stage. The Lord *Bellaſis* was propoſed, but that was too bare-fac'd; beſides, he was infirm, at leaſt to carry on their deſign with ſucceſs, and not altogether to diſguſt the *Engliſh*, 'twas reſolved that *Tyrconnel* ſhould return *Lieutenant General* of the Army, and the Earl of *Clarendon* Lord Lieutenant. In the mean time the *Iriſh Papiſts* in all parts of the Kingdom, proceeded in their former Stratagems of Impeaching the *Proteſtants* for Plots, *&c.* but theſe were generally ſo ridiculouſly contrived, and made up of ſuch Palpable Contradictions, and Incongruities,

ties, that they ſerved only to demonſtrate the *Proteſtants* innocency, and the Horrid Perjuries, and Implacable Inveteracy of the Informers: But ſeeing that theſe Impeachments were ſo unskilfully managed (which yet were repeated upon every pretended occaſion of diſguſt they had to an *Engliſh-man*) as to miſs of their Wicked and Diabolical intent; then they applyed themſelves to other Courſes; many went out *Toryes*, and robb'd upon the High-way, broke up Houſes, ſtole Cattle, killed them in the Field, and cut out the Tongues of Sheep alive, with other innumerable Barbarities, all acted upon the *Engliſh*, which were ſo frightened and diſcouraged with theſe Tragedies, that thouſands deſerted the Kingdom, and came for *England* under as great Fears and Jealouſies, as if there had been an open Rebellion, and Five Hundred together departed the Kingdom, to Tranſport themſelves to *Virginia, Carolina, Penſilvania, Weſt-Indies*, and *New England*.

This was extream grateful to the *Iriſh*, who ſet all their Engines at work, ſo to diſhearten and diſcourage the *Proteſtants*, as to force them to leave the Kingdom. *Tyrconnel* now drives with greater fury than before, not only diſplacing the Officers of the Army, but alſo turning out the Private Soldiers, and to both, prefers which of the *Iriſh* he thought fit; his Will was his Law, and his Actions purely Arbitrary, none daring to queſtion him; for he brought over Blank Commiſſions Signed by the King, for ſuch as he was willing to put in. This Part he acted

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in a moſt Inſulting Barbarous manner, cauſing poor Men that had no Cloaths on their Backs, but Red Coats, to be ſtript to their Shirts, and ſo turned off; and of all this he himſelf was an Inhumane Spectator: He ſeiz'd the Horſes of ſome Officers and Troopers, giving Notes that amounted not to a fourth proportion of their juſt Values; to others he gave nothing but ill words, and vile reproaches. In the midſt of this Tragical Scene the Earl of *Clarendon* comes upon the Stage in the Capacity of Lord Lieutenant; his Relation to the King added to the violent Proceedings then in *Ireland*, ſo vigorouſly drove on by the *Popiſh* Party, afforded but little hopes of any redreſs of theſe Evils to the Drooping Spirits of the *Proteſtants*, who were by this time entered into a very Deſponding and Dejected Condition.

But theſe Diſcouragements of the *Engliſh* were alleviated in a very high meaſure, if not changed into Ecſtaſies, and perfect Raptures of Joy, when perceiving the Lord Lieutenant acting as a perſon of inviolable Integrity to the *Proteſtants*, and the *Engliſh* Intereſt, they looked upon him as a fit Man to ſtem the Torrent of the Popiſh Faction, which had been ſo violent and impetuous: and indeed his very firſt action gave no ſmall proof of it, which was to cheriſh and revive the broken hearts of the *Proteſtants*, with thoſe great Aſſurances his Maſter had given him of protecting the *Proteſtant* Intereſt and Religion, which he good man could not disbelieve. In purſuance of this, he iſſued out Proclamations for bringing in of *Torys*, and propos'd Rewards to ſuch as

ſhould apprehend them: He rid a Progreſs round the chiefeſt parts of the Kingdom, to give life to the *Engliſh*; but at the ſame time the Grandees of the *Iriſh* proceeded in their deſign, animating their Vaſſals, with hopes that he ſhould ſoon be removed; the *Iriſh* compoſing Barbarous Songs in praiſe of *Tyrconnel*, and that his Heroick hand ſhould deſtroy the *Engliſh* Church; with Bloody and Inhumane Expreſſions, very ungrateful to a Chriſtian Ear.

Theſe reſtleſs Endeavours of the *Papiſts* made the Earl of *Clarendon* find things very uneaſie; whereunto one Remarkable Paſſage not a little contributed, which was reported to be thus: That upon a *Sunday* Morning going to Church, he perceived an *Iriſh* Officer he never ſaw before, Commanding his Guard of Battle-Axes that attended his Perſon, which exceedingly ſurprized him: whereupon he made a ſtop, demanding who he was, and who put him there? The *Iriſh-man* (for they are naturally Puſillanimous and fearful) was as much frighted, as the Lord Lieutenant was diſturbed; but with ſome difficulty, and in broken Expreſſions, occaſioned by fear, told his Excellency, he was a Captain put in by the Lord *Tyrconnel*. His Excellency demanded of him When? he replyed, That Morning: His Excellency bid 'em call the former Captain, and diſmiſs this of *Tyrconnel*'s. The next day the Lord Lieutenant ſent for *Tyrconnel*, and queſtioned him for this Action, who replyed, *He did nothing but by the King's Orders*; to which the Lord Lieutenant returned anſwer, *That whilſt His Majeſty intruſted him with the Government, he*

he would not be diſpoſed by his Lieutenant General. Complaints on both hands were made to the King, and ſo ended.

Tyrconnel having compleated his deſign in modelling the Army, goes for *England*, and there conſults with his Party to obtain the Government of *Ireland*. The King, Queen, and Father *Petres* were for him; but the whole Council of *Papiſts* oppos'd it, ſtill urging how unacceptable he was to the *Engliſh*; others therefore were named in private by that *Popiſh* Party: But all the while the *Proteſtant* ſide were wholly ignorant of any deſign to remove the Earl of *Clarendon*, not queſtioning but that he ſtood upon a firm Foundation, (namely) the Kings late aſſurance to the Earl of *Rocheſter*, Lord Treaſurer, who was ſeemingly Prime Miniſter of State, but not thought fit to be confided in, as to thoſe dark Secrets of the *Catholick* Deſigns.

About this time there was a general metting at the *Savoy* before Father *Petres*, of the chief *Roman Catholicks* of *England*, in order to conſult what Methods were fitteſt to be purſued for the promotion of the *Catholick* Cauſe. The *Papiſts* were univerſally afraid of the King's Incapacity, or elſe unwillingneſs of expoſing himſelf to the hazard of ſecuring it in his Reign. They were ſenſible that he advanced conſiderably in Age; beſides, they were not ignorant of what almoſt inſuperable difficulties they had to contend with, before they could bring it to any ripeneſs: Wherefore upon theſe Conſiderations, (carefully weighing and ballancing every Circumſtance) ſome were for moving the King to pro-

cure an Act of Parliament for the ſecurity of their Eſtates, and only liberty for Prieſts in their own private Houſes, and to be exempted from all Employments. This *Father Petres* Anathematized as Terreſtrial, and founded upon too anxious a Sollicitude for the preſervation of their Secular Intereſts; but if they would purſue his meaſures, he doubted not to ſee the Holy Church triumphant in *England*: And indeed his Politicks have taken, but in a quite different manner than he expected; for (God be praiſed) a Church triumphs in *England*, as much ſuperiour to his in Holineſs, as the means of its preſervation have been in juſtice, to his, which were intended for its deſtruction. Others of the *Papiſts* were for addreſſing the King to have liberty (now that they might do it) to ſell their Eſtates, and that his Majeſty would intercede with the *French* King to provide for them in his Dominions. After ſeveral Debates, it was at laſt agreed upon to lay both Propoſals before the King, and ſome of the number to attend his Majeſty with them, which was accordingly done; to which the King's return was, *That he had before their Deſires came to him, often thought of them, and had* (as he believed) *provided a ſure* Sanctuary, *and* Retreat *for them in* Ireland, *if all thoſe endeavours ſhould be blaſted in* England, *which he had made for their ſecurity, and of whoſe ſucceſs he had not yet reaſon to deſpair.* This Encouragement to the *Papiſts* in *England*, was attended with the moſt Zealous Expreſſions, and *Catholick* Aſſurances of his Ardent Love to the Holy Church, which he ſaid he had been a Mar-

Martyr for. Thus we ſee how the Bigottry of this unhappy Prince, tranſported him beyond all bounds, and carry'd him to ſuch Extravagancies in Government, as the moderate of the *Engliſh Papiſts* themſelves thought to be extream hazardous and inſecure; and would all of them have been content with a private exerciſe of their Religion, as thinking it abundantly more ſafe, rather than endanger the loſing their Eſtates and Fortunes, (which they almoſt look'd upon as inevitable) if ſuch violent extream courſes were followed.

But alas theſe ſelf-preſerving, and the furious Principles of the Jeſuits had no Congruity; and the King was too much a Creature of the laſt, to attend to any but their Counſels. He ſaid he was reſolved to die a Martyr, rather than not advance the *Catholick* Cauſe. He had entered himſelf into the Order of the Jeſuits, and was become a Lay-Brother of that Society; and ſo in conſequence to his Profeſſion, muſt needs look upon it as meritorious to extirpate and deſtroy Hereſie. He was told that this would be a moſt glorious action; and doubtleſs would be Canonized for it. To reduce three Kingdoms to an entire obedience to the Holy See, which had Apoſtatized ſo long, and been the Nurſery of ſo many Damned Hereticks, who by their *Heterodox* Doctrines had created ſo much diſturbance to the peace of the moſt Holy Catholick Church, was doubtleſs the greateſt action on this ſide Heaven, and deſerved no leſs than that for its reward. No time, nor ſtory, could parallel this Heroical Atchievement, which would be commemo-

memorated to Eternal Ages. This would be a Work of Supererogation indeed, which would not only convey him to Heaven, without touching at Purgatory; but alſo lay up ſuch an infinite over-plus of merits, as being depoſited in the hands of the Church, and frugally applyed, would not only preſerve thouſands of others from theſe Flames, but waft them immediately into *Abraham*'s Boſom. Theſe or the like we may ſuppoſe to have been the conſtant ſuggeſtions of the Jeſuits, which as they indeavoured to inſtill into the Kings mind, with Tongues as ſmooth as Oyl, and with the moſt prevailing Flatteries, and Artificial Inſinuations; ſo on the other hand, did he as greedily imbibe theſe Poiſonous Doctrines, as they could infuſe them, and eagerly ſwallow'd the Bait, when all the while the Hook lay conceal'd, and he ſo far intangled, till 'twas too late to diſcover it. And now how can we ſuppoſe that a Prince thus wholly at the Devotion of the Jeſuits, ſwayed altogether by their Councils, and upon every occaſion conſulting them as ſo many Oracles, ſhould reſiſt the voice of theſe Charmers, who Charmed ſo wiſely in his byaſs'd opinion. Theſe *Syrens* kept a very harmonious Conſort, which they exactly tuned to the Key and accent of this Votary's fanciful Genius: every ſtroke ſounded ſo melodious in his Ear, as made him not conſider that this pleaſant Muſick preſaged a dangerous Ship-wrack to himſelf and his Party, as we find it afterwards proved.

But

But to go on in my former Diſcourſe: After the aforeſaid Encouragements given by the King to the *Engliſh Papiſts*, to allay their fears, freſh Conſults were ſet on foot, relating to the Government of *Ireland*. This by accident the Lord Treaſurer received ſome account of, which he immediately acquainted the King with, who abſolutely denys, that there was any intention of changing the Chief Governour; but on the contrary aſſured him of his great ſatisfaction with the Lord Lieutenant there. Within a few days the Lord Treaſurer received from his Brother the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the ſame Intimations, which he had informed the King of; and upon which he again accoſts his Majeſty, who as poſitively diſowns the whole matter as he had done before, and to remove the Jealouſies of the Lord Lieutenant, writes (for his greater ſatisfaction) a Letter to him, as was ſaid, with his own hand, aſſuring him there was yet no thoughts, and he believed never would be in him (whilſt both liv'd) to remove him from the Government of *Ireland*; notwithſtanding which the *Papiſts* in *Ireland*, confidently affirmed, that the day before the King writ the Letter, he had given aſſurance to *Father Petres*, That *Tyrconnel* ſhould be Lord Lieutenant; but 'tis certain that no other Creature but the Queen was privy to this, no not *Tyrconnel* himſelf, for he could not keep a Secret.

'Twas

1686. 'Twas at the ſame time alſo reſolved to put the Lord Treaſurer and *Sunderland* (Principal Secretary) to the Teſt, as to what they would do in compliance to the *Catholick* Cauſe; it not being at all adviſeable to cheriſh Serpents in their Boſoms that might diſembogue their venom upon every inviting Revolution. The King undertook the management of this Affair, and made his firſt Onſet on *Sunderland*, for he was obſerved to be moſt docible, as appeared already, by his ſubmiſſive bowing and cringing to the Altar. What the Tenour of that Diſcourſe was, which the King had with him, is not yet known; but however *Sunderland*'s Obedience was extreamly magnify'd and approved of in the Conclave; and *Father Petres* at a meeting with the Jeſuits, gave a good account of this Negotiation with *Sunderland*; adding that 'twas neceſſary for him as yet to appear a *Proteſtant* for Important Reaſons of State.

Upon meeting with this ſucceſs, the King deſcends to an attempt upon the Treaſurer, whom he endeavours to manage with good words and gentle arts of Perſwaſion. For he was haughty, as knowing that his ſignal Services might reaſonably entitle him to conſiderable Favours from the King: And therefore upon this account muſt be amicably dealt with, and gently ſtroak'd into humour: which the King ſtrove to perform with all thoſe Specious Arts and Policies dictated to him by his Holy Council. And the more to prevail upon him, he urged to him, that Sunderland, a Wiſe and Religious Man, though he was know-

knowing in his Religion, yet refuſed not to admit of a Conference with thoſe that were Learned, and deſired him to do the ſame. The effect of this Negotiation became ſo publick, that 'twill be unneceſſary to mention it here: but *Sunderland*, like an eaſie and tractable Child, though fed at firſt with Milk, came at laſt to digeſt ſtrong Meat, by arriving every day more and more to maturity in the Faith; and though ſtill a *Proteſtant*, yet went every day with the King to Maſs, publickly kneeling before the Altar, and praying with *Naaman*, That God would forgive his Servant in that thing.

But to come to the Lord Treaſurer: No work of grace would take effect with this obſtinate Impugner of the Faith; and which rendered him a greater Infidel, was, that the King could not prevail ſo much upon him as to obtain his ſilence, or a deſire from him, to have time to conſider of it, but turns an open Heretick: upon which one of the Fathers ſaid, **he muſt be Anathematized, and that the King could never proſper whilſt ſuch an Heretick was near him.**

Before it was publick in *London*, the Prieſts of *Ireland* gave out that the white Staff was broke, and at that time by way of prediction told all that ſoon after came to paſs. 1686.

It was now become the publick diſcourſe, That the two Brothers muſt down, and then the King in Council pretended (though he had before reſolved) to ask their advice, who was fit to be placed in the Government of *Ireland*. Several

perſons were propoſed, but none approved of: After that the inclination of the Council had been ſufficiently ſifted, by offering of divers, the King again brings on *Tyrconnel*; which was withſtood by all but *S*———, and in oppoſition to which the *Popiſh* Party contended vigorouſly.

P— (notwithſtanding that they knew him to be both a C——— and a F——, as the King in Paſſion one day told him he was; yet however) was conſidered as a Perſon whoſe moderate carriage had entitled him to a reaſonable good Character among the *Proteſtants*; and therefore the fitteſt to be placed in this ſtation, the better to amuſe them. This was chiefly inſiſted upon by them, and he was ſtrongly argued for upon this account. *Powis* was naturally covetous, and the Government of *Ireland*, a Poſt of great profit: wherefore his Friends adviſ'd him to agree with *Sunderland*, and do as the L. *B*——— did with the Dutcheſs of *Cleveland*, become Tenant for it; in order whereunto *Powis* comes to terms, and agrees for Four Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; but whatever the bottom of the deſign was, *Sunderland* never forſook *Tyrconnel* at the Council-Board. Some conjectured, that he acquainted the King of his Bargain with *Powis*; and that the King made *Tyrconnel* agree to the ſame. For 'tis certain *Tyrconnel* (who was of no great Conduct) would ſwear he got not ſo much by the Government, as ſerved to maintain him, notwithſtanding that it was worth to him Eighteen Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*.

Sunder-

Sunderland was become ſo intimate a Favourite, that nothing could be got at Court but by his intereſt; and when the King was told he got all the Money of the Court, he replyed he deſerved it. Nay, his Intereſt was at laſt become ſo remarkable, that the King himſelf would ask when any grant was given, if they had ſpoke with *Sunderland*.

The *Iriſh* were ſtill marvelouſly impatient for 1686.
their Dagon; and at laſt *Tyrconnel* obtains the Government, notwithſtanding all oppoſition. The confirmation of this diſmal News reaching the Ears of the *Proteſtants* in *Ireland*, ſtruck like a Thunderbolt: Perhaps no Age or Story can parallel ſo dreadful a Cataſtrophe among all Ages and Sexes, as if the day of Doom was come; every one lamenting the dreadfulneſs of their horrible condition, and almoſt all that could (by any mens) deſerted the Kingdom, if they had but money to diſcharge their Paſſage; a demonſtration of this were thoſe infinite numbers of Families, which flocked over from *Dublin* to the *Iſle of Man*, and other places. Indeed I cannot recal to mind the great Conſternation, the diſmal Apprehenſions, and Panick Fears, which poſſeſs'd the hearts of all *Proteſtants* at this juncture, without reviving (like *Æneas* his repetition of the *Trojan* Miſeries to the *Carthaginian* Queen) thoſe deep impreſſions of ſorrow, thoſe *Infandos ——— dolores*, under which I was then almoſt ſunk, and overwhelmed.

Now every thing diſcovered a gloomy and Melancholy proſpect, and ſeemed to be attended with ſo many Diſcouragements, that many that had Patentee Employments, obtained Licence from the Lord Lieutenant under the Broad-Seal, to come away; and all that lay in his Excellency's power, for the help and aſſiſtance of the *Proteſtants*, he zealouſly performed. It was interpreted by many as a ſignal Act of Providence propitious to the *Engliſh*, that the Winds continued for ſome time contrary, after that this furious Zealot for the Cauſe (as impatient as a Wild Bull in a Net) was come to the Sea-ſide, which diſappointment did not a little diſcompoſe him, whoſe prejudice and ambition equally inſpired him with eagerneſs to ſupplant his Predeceſſor, whom he had looked upon as his Corrival in the Government. This favourable delay was religiouſly reſpected by many as a certain warning, or admonition from God to his people to fly from thoſe heavy Judgments, which had been long imminent, but now in an actual readineſs to deſcend upon that Poor Diſtreſſed Kingdom.

But he whoſe Arrival was dreaded every moment, as the moſt fatal miſery that could fall upon the Nation; at laſt (after being thus retarded) to the unſpeakable terrour of the *Proteſtants*, Landed at *Dublin*: And the Lord *Clarendon* (who had a particular favour conferred upon him to continue for one Week in the Government after *Tyrconnel*'s Landing) at his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of *Dublin*'s Palace, reſigned the Sword to *Tyrconnel* with an admirable Speech to him,

him, ſetting forth his exact obſervance of the Commands of the King his Maſter, and faithful diſcharging of that great truſt, which had been committed to him; and concluding with his Impartial Adminiſtration of Juſtice to all Partys, in theſe, or the like words addreſſed to *Tyrconnel*: **That as he had kept an equal hand of Juſtice to the Roman Catholicks, ſo he hoped his Lordſhip would to the Proteſtants.** Never was a Sword waſhed with ſo many Tears, as this, a moſt doleful preſage of its being ſo in blood: It would ſurpaſs the Art of Rhetorick to ſet forth the dreadful Reflections which the poor afflicted *Proteſtants* made upon this Ominous Revolution. No Oratour could find words to expreſs the fatal Calamities which were now derived from the conſequence of this change; it preſaged the worſt of evils, and ſeemed to carry in all its parts the moſt diſmal Characters of an Irreverſible Extirpation of the *Proteſtant Intereſt*, and *Religion*. Moſt of the *Engliſh* were poſſeſſed with the daily fears of a general Maſſacre to be ſuddainly put in Execution, and that in a moſt inhuman manner; and this produced the ſtrangeſt Convulſions in the minds of men, that a moſt exquiſite grief could be capable of. Others were more temperate in their ſorrows, and were of opinion, that notwithſtanding *Popery* was the Scene which muſt be acted, yet they were in hopes by ſome more plauſible way, than that of downright murthering. They conſidered that the laſt Rebellion had heaped ſo much Infamy upon the *Iriſh*, and had juſtly rendered them ſuch Barbarous and Inhumane Savages,

ges to the whole Chriſtian World, that to obliterate that deſerved reproach, they would now take ſome milder courſe; which though it might have ſomething more of Humanity in it, would yet be as effectual to the deſign, the utter Subverſion of the *Proteſtant* Intereſt and Religion. In fine, *Quot homines, tot ſententiæ*; their Sentiments were as various as their Fears: But however all concurred in this, That *Popery* was the Game, that muſt not only be Played, but win too, whatever Arts were uſed to obtain the upſhot.

The Lord *Clarendon* before he ſurrendered the Government, was very curious to inform himſelf of the Conſtitution and Condition of *Ireland*, and at his going over carried with him Copies of Records, Surveys, *&c.* of that Kingdom, and among other things, it is ſaid, that he deſired the Lord Chief Juſtice *Keating*, (now in Rebellion in *Ireland*) and one of the fatal inſtruments for the ruine of that Kingdom, to give him his opinion in Writing, both as to the Legality and Juſtice of the Act of Settlement; as alſo to anſwer thoſe Objections which had been made againſt it by *Neagle*; all which he amply performed; and which my Lord *Clarendon* upon his Arrival at Court, ſhewed to the King, who ſent the Copy over to *Tyreonnel*, who ſpared not to reproach *Keating* for this action, which *Keating* at firſt diſowned; but the matter being too plain to admit of an abſolute denial, t length began to make the beſt Excuſe he ould.

My

My Lord *Clarendon* being ſhipped for *England*, now does the open and full Triumph of the *Iriſh* ambitiouſly ſhew it ſelf in this advantagious light in all its grandeur and magnificence: The dejected condition of the *Engliſh* made their Victory more glorious. 'Twas now impoſſible for the Natives to forbear inſulting over the *Engliſh* at an inſupportable rate, as if they had been actually their Slaves, bound to the Wheels of their Chariots. That ſober thought of *Seſoſtris*, when he had his Coach drawn by four Kings, was not a reflection to be entertained by them at this juncture. The Day was now their own, and *Poſt mortem nulla voluptas*, they failed not to uſe it as extravagantly whilſt they enjoyed it. What Affronts and Indignities were now caſt upon the *Engliſh*? How barbarouſly Hector'd and Inſulted over by theſe Huffing Rhodomontadoes? How injured and oppreſſed by publick acts of notorious injuſtice? How abuſed as to their good Names, reviled as to their Religion, and reproached as *Engliſhmen* and *Proteſtants*? Called *Fanatick Dogs*, and *Damn'd Hereticks*, is ſo publickly known, as requires not much pains to deſcribe. Thoſe of the *Proteſtants* who had been the moſt obliging to the *Iriſh*, were ſure to meet with the moſt ungrateful returns; and if they had been ſo charitable as to relieve them in their neceſſities, as the *Engliſh* (a merciful and too eaſie natured a People) had frequently done, they would now in requital ſeize upon what they had, by open force, or elſe ſet others of their own Creatures to do it. If any of the *Engliſh* had lent Money to them,

them, or bargained for Goods and Commodities of the Countrey, whereby the *Iriſh* were become their Debtors; their uſual payment (eſpecially if they were in neceſſity, and afraid that Executions would be obtained againſt their perſons or ſubſtance) was repairing to the next *Iriſh* Juſtice of the Peace, and ſwearing of High-Treaſon againſt their Creditors, though oftentimes (in kindneſs to them) they had been forborn with a year or two from diſcharging the Debt.

But I paſs from ſpeaking any more of theſe Infamous Wretches (whoſe Mercies are Cruelty) to *Tyrconnel*'s firſt ſteps in the Government as Lord Deputy, in relation to which, I ſhall now uſher in at once, the removing of the Judges, though ſome of them were turned out before *Tyrconnel* came to the Sword: As Sir *Standiſh Harſton* Baronet, one of the Barons of the Exchequer; Sir *Richard Reynolds* Baronet, one of the Judges of the *King's-Bench*; and *Johnſon*, one of the Judges of the *Common-Pleas*.

The Conſult was in *London* before *Tyrconnel* came to the Government, whether the Judges ſhould not be turned out before the Earl of *Clarendon* was removed, to repreſent him odious to the People, if he complyed; or diſobedient to the King, if he ſeemed unwilling in the matter, as they believed he would. For they obſerved that he and the Lord Chancellor *Porter*, began to ſtartle at the Commands from *England*, before they received any account of their removal; and *Porter* publickly declared, That he came not over to ſerve a turn; nor would act any

any thing againſt his Conſcience: and as a Teſtimony of this, he found at his return to *London*, that he could not without ſome difficulty obtain the favour of kiſſing the King's hand; but at length gaining admittance, he humbly asked the King, What he had done, that he was ſo uſed? For it had been a conſiderable expence to him to remove his Family. To which the King replyed, That 'twas his own fault; which was an expreſſion not very unintelligible. *Porter* went ſeveral times after to Court, and ſtood in the King's Eye; but he never vouchſafed to ſpeak to him, or to take the leaſt notice of him. But to come to the Judges, it was not thought ſafe to turn them all out, nor any more of them, till the Government was in a hand that was *Catholick*: For ſome of the Council, I mean, the Cabal, were afraid of proceeding in their deſign too faſt; eſpecially *Powis*, who urged a ſlow Progreſs, as accounting it moſt ſafe; and this made him not be confided in as to their ſecret and blacker Deſigns, though in his Lady they repoſed an intire Confidence, as being thought the greateſt Politician among them; and were not a little ambitious, that the Earl of *Shaftsbury* in the *Popiſh Plot*, had given her that Character.

This Debate concerning the Judges, was long and often; ſome were for making a clear riddance, and to have the Reformation begin in the Courts of Judicature. They having already the Military part of the Government in their hands, might with greater Facility ſecure the Civil;

But the moderate Party prevailed, and one in a Court (to colour the actions of the reſt) muſt be left: But that which ſtuck with them was, that Sir *William Davis*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the *King's Bench*, muſt not be moved for two Reaſons.

The Firſt was, That he had been of the Duke's Party in the time of the *Popiſh Plot*, behaving himſelf ſo loyal, that he had been ſent over, if Diſſolving the Parliament had not preſerved him: but this was the leaſt part of his Strength.

The Second therefore, and moſt prevalent Inducement, was his Marriage with the Counteſs of *Clancarthy*, whoſe Son had Married the Earl of *Sunderland*'s Daughter, and *Sunderland* was to be denied nothing: Beſides, Sir *William Davis* was a Diſeaſed infirm man, given over for ſome years; and to expedite his Journey for another World (for he was a thoughtful man) his Brother Judge *Nugent*, (the firſt *Popiſh* Judge that was put in) paſs'd Patent for Sir *William Davis*'s place of Lord Chief Juſtice in reverſion: a ſad Preſage in thoſe times, where men muſt die when and how their Adverſaries pleaſed. This being reſolved, the choice was ſoon made. Lord Chief Baron *Hen* makes way alſo for *Rice*, and in *Rice*'s room, Sir —— *Linch* ſucceeds in the Common-Pleas.

In the High Court of Chancery, was placed Sir *Alexander Fitton*, a man notorious on Record, ſo exempts me from the pains of giving the Reader a Character of him in this place; but

but little regard was to be had to the man, ſo long as he was fitted to that intereſt, which was then promoting; it being very remarkable, That of what Perſwaſion ſoever they were, which they employed at this time, they choſe men of the moſt branded Reputations, and whoſe Principles were ſuch as could brave Conſcience.

The three *Proteſtant* Judges had their ſeveral Capacities and Inclinations for their Service, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Davis*, I ſpeak not of, for he was decreed to die, and did ſoon after: but the three Standards for the Cauſe, were the Lord Chief Juſtice *Keating* for the *Common-Pleas*, *Lyndon* for the *King's-Bench*, and Baron *Worth* for the *Exchequer*. The Lord Chief Juſtice *Keating* had always been a Servant of the Duke of *Yorks*, was a Native of the place, as the *Iriſh* call them, his Family for many Ages there, and Naturalized into *Iriſh*; he was ſomewhat accounted to be *Popiſhly* inclined, and therefore that Party thought themſelves ſure of him; but he was a perſon of more ſenſe than to purſue the Chace with greater expedition than ſafety: He was rich and ſingle, and ſmall hopes would not ſpur him on to an indiſcreet forwardneſs; however, as to the main, they queſtioned not his Affection to the Cauſe.

Lyndon, though in his affection no friend to the *Iriſh* Government; yet lay under the powerful temptation of a numerous Family, and his not abounding in Riches made him the more Paſſive, though he behaved himſelf the beſt of the

three; and when it laid in his power, shewed himself an *English-man.*

Baron *W*——— was the Man they most depended upon, and he was so well known, that 'twas in vain to pretend indifferency, nor did he, but was the first man in the Exchequer (where there was more business than in all the Courts besides) that struck the fatal blow in all Causes where the *English* were concerned, as in the Sequel will appear in the Charters, and private Causes of the *English* that came before him.

1687. The Courts being thus setled, the next thing to be performed, was calling in the Charters, and here *Tyrconnel* endeavoured to proceed in the same method, that the Lords Justices had done before, in perswading the City to deliver up their Arms. But one art in State-Policy could not easily be imposed twice in a year, and the *English* had a fresh Impression upon their Memories, by what plausible perswasive Rhetorick they had been cajoled out of their Arms, and now to have a like Delusion pass upon them, in depriving them of their Laws, was a colour not natural enough to deceive them a second time: However this was the method of the proceeding.

Tyrconnel (during the Lord *Clarendon*'s Government had procured the King's Letter, that all *Roman Catholicks* should be admitted into the freedom of all the Corporations of the Kingdom: which Letter was artfully contrived with

a great deal of ſweetneſs, and of endearing expreſſions, as that it proceeded from his Majeſty's great care of the general good of the Kingdom, and was graciouſly deſigned by him for the encouragement of Trade, and the uniting of the Affections of his Subjects: and in order to put this in execution, the City of *Dublin* was to lead the way, and to be the Precedent to the whole Kingdom: And therefore in purſuance to the tenour of the aforeſaid Letter, the Lord Mayor calls a General Aſſembly, wherein the Kings Letter was read; upon which the City made their humble Addreſs to the Lord Lieutenant and Council; ſetting forth, that they found the City by Act of Parliament bound up, and that if they ſhould act according to the Letter, they incurred a Forfeiture of their Charters; and therefore humbly prayed the Lord Lieutenant and Council, to lay their Condition at his Majeſty's Feet, who (they did humbly conceive) was mis-informed in this matter. This retarded the freedom of the *Papiſts* for ſome time, but another Mayor, one *Caſtleton*, (who is ſtill in *Dublin*) ſucceeding, he paſſed the *Iriſh* Freemen, and in conſequence to this, the ſame was done in the whole Kingdom.

This was laid with ingenuity enough for promoting the *Iriſh* deſign; yet received not its hoped for effect, which was by this means to procure freedom for ſo many of the *Iriſh* in every Corporation, as by the Majority of their Suffrages, might out-vote the *Engliſh* in the Election of *Popiſh* Magiſtrates, which upon *Tyrconnel*'s

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Acceſſion to the Government, might facilitate the ſurrendring the Charters, and ſo render the Kingdom (as they ſtiled it) entirely Catholick: But this device, how ſpecioufly ſoever contrived, did not reach the end of its Projectors. For notwithſtanding the great Endeavours, and active Induſtry of the *Iriſh*; yet moſt of the Corporations out-ballanced them in the number of *Proteſtants*.

Tyrconnel perceiving himſelf fruſtrated of his expectation, by the numerous Party of the *Engliſh*, has an immediate recourſe to the way before-mentioned of the Lords Juſtices, and to put this in practice, ſends for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and there acquaints them, that he had in charge from his Maſter the King, to tell them, as being the chief City of the Kingdom, and unto which, as ſuch, he intended the greateſt Marks of his Favour, that it was his pleaſure to call in all the Charters of the Kingdom, not with deſign to take away any thing from them, but to enlarge their Priviledges, by which act of bounty and favour, he might the more endear them unto him: He farther told them, that his Majeſty expected their ready compliance, ſo as that their chearful ſurrendry of their Charter, might become examplary to the reſt of the Kingdom.

The Lord Mayor returned the anſwer uſual in ſuch caſes; which was, that he would call an Aſſembly, and move it to them; and the next day he accordingly did ſo, acquainting them with what the Lord Deputy had given him in charge.

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The Aſſembly was not long upon their Reſolves, but the manner of delivering them afforded the greateſt matter of debate; the reſult whereof was this, That the Lord Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen ſhould wait upon his Excellency, and acquaint his Lordſhip, that as the City had ever been exemplary in their Loyalty, and faithful Obedience to the Kings and Queens of *England*; ſo they ſhould ever continue in the ſame; and therefore humbly conceived it to be their Duty to lay at his Majeſty's feet the great Services they had done the Crown, under the **Grants and Immunities of One Hundred and Thirty Charters**, they had then in their Treaſury from his Majeſties Royal Anceſtors; and they humbly prayed his Excellency to favour them in a kind repreſentation of their condition to his Majeſty, which they hoped would prevail with his Majeſty for the continuance of their Ancient Government, under ſo many Gracious Grants and Charters. Upon the making of this return, there was preſent the King's Attorney and Sollicitor. The firſt being a moſt Virulent and Inveterate *Papiſt*; nothing of friendſhip was expected from him: but the latter was not doubted, yet contrary to expectation, argued ſtifly againſt the City. The Lord Deputy (as extravagantly mad to meet with this return, which ſo abſolutely thwarted his deſign) fell into a great fit of violent Paſſion, and in a raging Tempeſt told them, That this was the continuance of their former Rebellion, that they had turned out all the Loyal Subjects in the laſt War of *Ireland*,

land, and that they would do ſo now, were it in their power: And it was, becauſe they ſo lately diſputed the King's Commands, for admitting *Catholick* Free-men, that cauſed his Majeſty to call in their Charters; and in the cloſe of this furious Speech, adviſed the Lord Mayor to call the Aſſembly again, and obey the King, or it would be worſe for them.

Wherefore the Lord Mayor humbly beſought his Excellency to ſignifie his pleaſure to the Aſſembly by a Letter under his hand, alledging, that they would not regard a Verbal Repetition of it, which they had been already acquainted with; as alſo urging, that it had been the conſtant practice of the Chief Governour to ſend their Letter upon occaſions of publick buſineſs to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons: And if his Excellency would pleaſe to follow this uſual method, he would act (as in duty bound) in obedience to it: To which the Sollicitor General replyed, that there was no neceſſity of any ſuch Formality, but 'twas ſufficient if his Excellency ſignify'd his Commands by word of Mouth, in which they ought to acquieſce.

Upon this, the Lord Mayor called another Aſſembly, and great Debates aroſe, how to demean themſelves in this nice Criticiſm of Affairs: But as to the ſurrendry of their Charter; 'twas what they unanimouſly reſolved againſt: After ſome Diſpute as to the manner of Addreſſing the Lord Deputy in this caſe, 'twas at laſt reſolved, and concluded, That the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, ſhould make their

their Application to his Excellency, with Reaſons why they could not ſurrender their Charter, and to pray his Excellency to allow them time to Petition the King, not doubting but His Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to take into his Princely Conſideration as well their **Exemplary Loyalty, as Eminent Sufferings for his Royal Father, of Bleſſed Memory.** Upon which they produced a Letter from King *Charles the Firſt*, dated at *Oxford*, which contained great Acknowledgments of their great Loyalty and Faithfulneſs to him, which he gave them high aſſurances of being eminently rewarded, if it pleaſed the Divine Providence to reſtore him to his Crown, and its juſt Rights and Prerogatives.

The aforeſaid Repreſentatives of the City alſo prayed *Tyrconnel* to repreſent their condition favourably to His Majeſty; but he anſwered them roughly, and according to his former Auſterity, told them, That on the contrary he would Write againſt them; and in the interim according to the Directions he brought over with him from *England*, a *Quo Warranto* iſſued forth againſt the City: Who called another Common Council, and there agreed upon a Petition to the King, and ſent over with it their Recorder, Sir *Richard Rieves*, who behaved himſelf briskly, and with good Applauſe in this matter: For notwithſtanding that he was not only frequently ſent to, but threatned by *Tyrconnel*, if he proceeded in it; yet however he 1687.

goes for *London*, and there sollicits the Duke of *Ormond* to introduce him to the King, where on his Knee he delivers the Petition with a submissive tender of all the City Charters at His Majesties Feet: The King was already so prepossessed with the Partial Account that *Tyrconnel* had given of this Action, with which he was so extreamly prejudiced, that upon the first sight of Sir *Richard Rieves*, he asked him if he had **the Lord Deputy's leave to come with this Petition? And that he had those in Ireland that understood the Law better than himself**, and so turn'd from him.

Sir *Richard Rieves* advised with the Duke of *Ormond*, who told him, That there was no hopes of succeeding in the Enterprize; so was forced to go back for *Dublin* with a short but unpleasant return of the ineffectualness of this Negotiation. But however the City was resolved to stand the Brunt, and to stop the violent Tide if possible, which now ran with so rapid a Current; and in order thereunto they Fee'd four Counsels. Their first Evasion whereby to procrastinate matters, was by urging, that the Sheriffs were interessed as Parties in the Writ, the Charters being granted to Mayor, Sheriffs, and Commons, and so could not properly make Returns to that Writ that came against themselves; this was deem'd to be Law, but nothing was to be accounted as such by Judges that broke through all Inclosures, and stuck not to trample upon the known Laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom, if opposite to their

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Popiſh and Arbitrary deſigns. So this return of the Sheriffs was over-ruled, and a Fine impoſed upon them, if in four days they did not amend their Return, which ſome thought they would not have agreed to: but 'twas among themſelves thought fit to do it, and accordingly the *Attorney General* proceeded againſt them; and took ſome advantage of their Pleadings, which the Court gave judgment upon. This afforded matter of Triumph, and an univerſal exceſſive joy to the *Iriſh*, which diſperſed it ſelf with a marvelous Celerity throughout the whole Kingdom; but became on the contrary hand as much a Subject of Lamentation to the *Engliſh Citizens*, who called themſelves the **Virgin City**, as having never been tainted with any action of Diſloyalty or Rebellion in all the ſeveral Revolutions and Viciſſitudes of that unfortunate Kingdom, which, though never ſince it was in the poſſeſſion of the King's of *England*, continued forty years uninterruptedly without an Inſurrection of the Natives; yet was this City remarkably Loyal in all Changes, and performed many ſignal acts of Bravery and Courage, as their Records do amply teſtifie, and of which (not to name many others) I cannot omit one very remarkable Inſtance; which was, That when the Lord Duke of *Ormond* received Orders by that Royal Martyr King *Charles the Firſt*, of ever Bleſſed and Immortal Memory, to give up the Sword and Government to the Parliament; they being at that time beſt able to ſuppreſs the *Iriſh Rebels*: The

Lord of *Ormond*, in purſuance to this inſtruction, delivered up the Sword, and ſent to the Mayor one **William Smith**, ordering him to do the like; but he to ſhew his Loyalty went to the Lord of *Ormond* accompanied with his Brethren the Aldermen, and told his Lordſhip, that he kept that Sword for the King, that the City was the King's Chamber, and he would deliver neither, but into the hands of the King's Servants: Upon which the Lord of *Ormond* took occaſion to commend his Loyalty, and told him, He had the King's Commands to do it; and for the Mayors greater ſatisfaction, ſhewed him the King's Letter, which when the Mayor read, he obſerved there was order for the Lord of *Ormond*, to give up the Government to the Parliaments Commiſſioners, but not a word that the Mayor ſhould do it; which the Mayor taking notice of to the Lord of *Ormond*, told him, he would leave the *Sword* and *Keys* of the City with his Lordſhip, to uſe as he pleaſed, he being the King's Lieutenant; and ſo he did, and after took his leave. This the City juſtly boaſts of, as never being engaged in any Rebellion, nor ever actually under the Uſurper's Government in any other manner than by the King's Appointment and Command.

But to return to the Charters, conſonant to the Sentence againſt *Dublin*, ſo was Judgment given againſt all the Charters of the Kingdom, except againſt ſuch as quietly ſurrendred, as moſt did, it being to no purpoſe to contend

in the leſſer and inferiour parts of the Kingdom, after their *GOLIAH* of *Dublin* was ſlain.

I ſhall not impoſe upon the Reader's Patience with giving him an account of what ſubtle arts of Addreſs, and Obſequious Contrivances, were made uſe of, to diſtinct Corporations, to prevail with them to ſurrender. This he will ſuppoſe that they were not remiſs or unactive in, if he conſiders that they dreaded nothing ſo much, as that the Clamours and Outcries (of ſo many Bodies of people which were to be ſued and diſobliged) ſhould reach the Ears of the Court, and be made uſe of by the adverſe Party to their diſadvantage; and therefore we may be ſure that they endeavoured to ſilence them as much as they could: For both *Tyrconnel* and his Voucher, Meagle, had aſſured their Party that moſt of the Charters would quietly be ſurrendred by the people, and that there was but one Corporation in the North of *Ireland*, which they were afraid of; this was *Carrickfergus*, which they managed with a great deal of Policy in the following manner.

Ellis, Secretary to *Tyrconnel*, writes a wheedling Letter to the Mayor of that City, inſinuating how great an opinion the Lord Deputy had of his Loyalty, with abundance of ſuch impertinent ſtuff, and that his Excellency would enlarge their Priviledges: They were fooliſhly taken with this gilded Bait, and ſo ſurrendred their Charter. Upon this ſucceſs, *Ellis* was applauded as an excellent Inſtrument to delude

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the *Protestants* with; and so he was, which he improved, by the frequent opportunities which were offered to him of drawing in honest men, he having been many years in the Secretaries Office, and a pretended *Protestant*, though his Brother was a noted Champion for *Rome*; but that was one of the Machinations of the *Romish* Conclave, (mightily practised in *Ireland*) to disguise one part of their Family under the *Protestant* Education, though they were as much *Papists* as the other that appeared to be openly such by a publick Profession: A practice which the old *English* Families are rarely free from in that Kingdom.

But to come again to *Ellis*, his Letters and Messages flew round the Kingdom, and prevailed in many places, but more out of a Sentiment, That 'twas to no purpose to contend, than any Belief, or Opinion they had either of his, or his Masters assurances. But however that was, 'tis certain that *Ellis* acquired a fair Reputation among the *Popish* Party for his success in these Arts of Delusion and Treachery, and they in their Secret Cabals, did not a little magnifie and applaud their Politicks, which they thought, they so amused the *English* with, laughing at the Credulity of the Heretick Dogs, for so their Grandees in their private Meetings would frequently call them.

Having thus obtained their wish as to the surrendry of the Charters, the next work was to agree upon a Model for the men. This debate was strongly canvassed several ways, and that

that which chiefly puzled them, and even put 'em almoſt to a Non-plus, was, that the King would have nothing of this tranſacted at Court, for fear of meeting with oppoſition there.

This Exigency, of not being ſuffered to receive advice from *England*, expoſed them to great Difficulties; for they were utter Strangers to the Laws, and Government of Corporations; as indeed they were to all matters of Government, having been converſant in nothing but Secret Plots, and Private Contrivances, how to unhinge and diſcompoſe all Governments; and as an aggravation of their misfortune, except *Rice*, *Daly*, and *Neagle*, there was not a man of them in the Privy Council that had common ſenſe, if you will believe themſelves: for *Rice* and *Daly* would often complain that nothing could paſs at the Council-Board, that concerned the Publick, but their Countrymen muſt firſt ask *Teig*, **If that would not ſpoil his Pottatoe-Garden.**

Neceſſity at laſt ſupply'd the place of *Invention*; and a method was agreed upon which reduced Corporations to perfect Slavery; and this in all the Circumſtances of that affair was their prime and ultimate aim: For as to matter of Trade, or improving of the Nation; theſe were Speculations of too Metaphyſical a nature for men of their ſize, and former way of Education, as was demonſtrated in the firſt Proclamation iſſued forth by *Tyrconnel* and his Coun-

cil to break an Act of Parliament in taking off the duty of Iron, and admitting it ſo into the Kingdom, whereby they might encourage *Merchants* to bring in Pieces of Eight from *Spain*, and ſo haſty they were to have the honour of this admirable contrivance, that without asking the King's leave (which is always done before any Proclamation relating to the Revenue Paſs) They put it in execution; but as ſoon as 'twas heard of in *England*, a Proclamation came from the King, forbidding this wiſe act made by theſe great States-men: And ſo ill this preſumptuous folly of theirs was interpreted, That the Lord *Bellaſis* ſwore in Council that, **That Fellow in Ireland, was Fool and Mad-man enough to ruine ten Kingdoms.**

1687.

Father Petres corrected him ſeverely for this foul miſcarriage; and writ to him, That if he acted not with greater Caution, the King could not poſſibly preſerve him in that Government. Theſe Documents, and ſevere Reprimands of the Ghoſtly Father, were ſo religiouſly obſerved by him, that for the future he would proceed in nothing, but ball out at the Council-Board, and call them Fools and Blockheads, if they ſpake any thing that was contradicted by the *Engliſh* Privy-Council: Their great Confident, was the Lord Chief Juſtice *Keating*, who knowing that he had an Aſcendant over them as to Parts, was ſo imperious and inſulting, that ſometimes he was taken to task; but had wit enough to ſubmit, yet often was very uneaſie to them: But however he in publick, and

and *W.* in private (for he was not of the Privy-Council) directed them in the management of the affair of the Charters: And when they had got the ſhape and model of them preſented by theſe Temporizing Painters, who drew to the life according to the *Popiſh* fancy, then they proceeded to an Election of the men to name in their Charters, and here they begged pardon of their Adviſers, and would be their own Directors.

'Twas their Rule to have in the great Cities (who were moſt *Engliſh*) one third *Proteſtants*, and two thirds *Papiſts*; but then theſe that they called *Proteſtants* were *Quakers*, or other *Enthuſiaſticks*, and two or three in a Charter of ſuch *Proteſtants*, as either their conſiderable Eſtates, or looſe Principles would ſecure to their Party; by that means leaving not a man of true Value or Courage in any Corporation in the Kingdom: and although they took in Lords and Gentlemen out of the Countrey into all their Corporations; yet could they not compleat them without additional numbers of Scandalous and Contemptible men: In one Corporation in the North, the firſt Magiſtrate of the Town was a Man that had been burnt in the Hand.

Here you ſee by what impious Arts, and fraudulent Machinations, the ſeveral Corporations were cheated and trapanned out of their Charters, moſt of them wheedled, and groſly impoſed upon, by a Wolf in Sheeps Cloathing, *Secretary Ellis*, who ſtuck not to make

great Promiſes of enlarging their Priviledges, and the like, though he knew nothing to be more deſtructive of the *Proteſtant Intereſt* and *Religion*, of which he owned himſelf a Profeſſor. And as his wearing of a *Proteſtant Mask* contributed very much to the ſucceſs of this intrigue, ſo did the ſame Vizard, put on by *Keating* and *W.* not a little facilitate the Model of the new Charters, of which they contrived the Plat-form, and then 'twas eaſie for the *Popiſh Faction* to ſuper-ſtruct upon it, the palpableneſs of whoſe deſign was in nothing more fully evident, than in putting in of all manner of *Fanatical Enthuſiaſts*, into their new Charters, under the notion of *Proteſtants*: For 'twas evident that ſome of theſe were as irreconcileable Enemies to the *Proteſtant* Church, as they were Friends to, and Confederates with the *Romiſh*. As for inſtance, The *Quakers*, concerning which ridiculous Profeſſion, Who is, or can be ignorant that 'twas derived from the Jeſuits? Who knows not that theſe have ſharpened their Weapons at the *Romiſh Forge*, and that their prime Leaders (whatever they otherwiſe pretend to) do inwardly own *Ignatius Loyola* as their Founder? Theſe were therefore too much their own Creatures to be neglected by them, as not only appears by their former Principles (if thoſe monſtrous Abſurdities they maintain, may be reckoned to be ſuch) but alſo by their preſent Practices, as their vindicating the late King's Declaration for *Liberty of Conſcience*, though it manifeſtly tended to the introduction of *Popery*, and

and their zealous eſpouſing of his intereſt at this day, do fully ſhew. But amidſt all the new arts of modelling the Corporations, neither their Brethren, the Quakers, nor other of their Adherents, could give them ſuch effectual aſſiſtance, but that often they were put to their ſhifts, and neceſſitated to elect men of the blackeſt Characters, and moſt infamous Reputations, as appears from their chooſing a Magiſtrate that had been burnt in the Hand. Here was admirable juſtice indeed to be expected, where he who had not only held up his hand, but been puniſhed in ſo ſcandalous a manner at the Bar, was now to ſit upon the Bench.

But as the *Popiſh* Party were put to theſe Difficulties of getting any ſort of men (how notoriouſly infamous ſoever) to fill up their Charters, ſo were they as much perplexed to find out men that would pay for them: For not ten in the whole Kingdom would, or could diſcharge the Fees for them. Wherefore to encourage them, the Lord Deputy ordered, That the Lord Chancellor, and Attorney General *Neagle* ſhould abate half of their Fees: But all would not do, ſo that moſt of the new Charters are yet in the Attorney General's hands for want of paying the Fees, and the ſeveral Corporations act without them.

The infinite numbers of people deſerting the Kingdom from all parts of it upon *Tyrconnel*'s coming to the Government, made the Towns and Cities almoſt waſte; diſcouraged all manner

of Trade, and sunk the Revenue to an incredible Ebb, and deduction from its former value: These weighty Arguments were strongly prest at Court to *Tyrconnel*'s disadvantage, upon which he obtains leave to meet the King at *Chester*, and carries with him his great Minister
1687. and Counsellor *Rice*, who being chief Baron of the Exchequer, was to be believed above any, it being King *James*'s Maxim, That he would hear no man in any thing that did not properly lie under his Province. *Rice* was fitly enough qualified to sooth up the King with fine Stories, and a specious representation of Affairs, which he could the more easily do, in regard there was none present to contradict him, and so this Cloud blew over, though many did believe, and were in hopes that it would have broke with that violence upon *Tyrconnel*, that he would never have returned again as Lord Deputy.

There as yet remained some *Protestant* Officers in the Army, which upon this interview were ordered to be disbanded, excepting some few, who 'tis believed had made fair Promises, which they had not occasion as yet to put in execution: Nor did King *James* require more than a private assurance of their Faith, and Inclinations to his interest, it being too early to make a publick Declaration as yet.

1687. The Judges were abroad upon their Circuit whilst *Tyrconnel* was in *England*, pursuing such instructions as he had prescribed to them, before

fore his departure, which were ſevere and prejudicial enough to the *Engliſh*, and to their *Proteſtant Clergy*, notwithſtanding his late Proclamation, ſuperadded to others before from the King, that they ſhould enjoy all their Eccleſiaſtical Rites, and Juſt Dues, as they had formerly done: The Clergy having ſince the beginning of King *James*'s Reign, lain under great Grievances, as to the non-payment of their dues (eſpecially Surplice Fees, which in that Kingdom they call *Book-money*, and is very conſiderable to them, by reaſon of the numerouſneſs of *Iriſh* Families in moſt places) took the opportunity at the Aſſizes in the ſeveral Circuits, to repreſent their condition to the Judges, as Perſons from whom they expected Redreſs; but on the contrary met with very diſſatisfactory, and unequal returns. For though the Judges could not diſown the legality of thoſe ſmall Dues called the *Book money*, becauſe founded upon the ſame Law with the greater Tythes, as the *Iriſh* of the Country unanimouſly did, (notwithſtanding that they had paid them in the former Reign) yet did they ſo manifeſtly diſcourage the Clergy in their Addreſſes to them, (taking all advantages againſt them that could be offered, and as ſtudiouſly declining every Argument made in their favour, as they were ready to embrace, and hearken to what could be objected againſt them, though meer Forgeries of the *Iriſh*) and thereby ſo animated the Natives againſt them, that they ſeemed to do them as much injuſtice (though under ſpecious and fair pre-

pretences) as if they had publickly told the *Papiſts*, that they ought not to pay them any thing: Though at the ſame time, and with the ſame breath that they were guilty of this execrable partiality, they had the confidence to avow the juſtice of their proceedings towards the Clergy, for whom they would have had them believe that they entertained the moſt equitable, and upright intentions. This would require a large Diſcourſe, if accurately handled, but my unskilfulneſs in a matter out of my Province, and peculiar to Eccleſiaſticks, will (I hope) be excuſed, though thus ſlenderly touched upon; but thought it better to ſpeak ſomething imperfectly of it, than wholly omit an Affair which was ſo univerſal in the Reign of the late King *James*, and ſo publickly tranſacted in the whole Kingdom.

The Judges found the Gaols full ſtocked with *Toryes* and *Iriſh* Robbers; but *Iriſh* Sheriffs and *Iriſh* Juries were ſo Gracious as to vouchſafe them ſo general a deliverance, that not one in forty was found guilty: And in ſuch Caſes where Matter of Fact was notoriouſly plain, or any of the Grandees were any way intereſſed in belief of the Criminals (as 'twas rare almoſt to a miracle if none were) and the Evidence not to be taken off; then 'twas uſual for the Priſoner at the Bar to be called by wrong Names, and ſo diſcharged for want of Proſecution: To theſe Arts of evading condign puniſhment for their Execrable Crimes, ſeveral Menaces were added, to terrifie the Plaintiff from pro-

proſecuting, as that otherwiſe their Houſes ſhould be burnt, their Cattle ſtole, their ſubſtance deſtroyed, and perhaps their own Throats cut, which as often threatened, ſo not ſeldom put in execution; a ſad diſcouragement to the poor *Engliſh*, who lay under the daily hazard of being Robbed and Pillaged by the *Iriſh*; and if they happened to ſeize the Malefactors, muſt either diſcontinue any farther proſecution againſt them; or elſe be expoſed to greater miſchief: For the Proof and Demonſtration whereof (not to inſiſt upon too many others) take the following Inſtance, which for the eminency of the Perſon, and Barbarity of the ſeveral Facts, may ſupply the reſt, acted by the Earl of *C*——.

This Earls Eldeſt Son (a great Favourite of the Duke of *York*'s) was with him at Sea, and there killed, and leaving no Heir, his younger Brother was brought out of a Convent in *France*, and inſtated in the Earldom. The Duke of *Ormond*, who always endeavoured to Naturalize the *Iriſh* Families into *Engliſh*, embraced this opportunity (there being none living but his Siſter and this Earl, who was next to a Natural) to Marry him to a Daughter of the Earl of *Kildare*'s in *Ireland*, a firm *Proteſtant*, and capable of an Intrigue beyond her Sex; by this Lady he had ſeveral Children, and one Son, who is now Earl: He was by the Duke of *Ormond* ſent to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and by him carefully bred up a *Proteſtant*, and Educated at *Oxford*. His Uncle *Juſtin Mac Carthy* (as it ſince appears, for the promotion of the

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Catholick Cauſe) without the knowledge of his Mother, or the Duke of *Ormond*, Marries him when not Sixteen Years of Age, to the Earl of *Sunderland*'s Daughter, and immediately ſends him for *Ireland*, where he continued a *Proteſtant* until the coming of King *James* to the Crown; and then like the reſt of his Countrymen, at that juncture returned to his old Vomit: He had then a Troop of Horſe given him, which he ſoon made of his own Breed; for before their inliſting, they were the greateſt Vagrants of the Countrey, which with himſelf now ravaged in the Countrey, in an horrible and moſt inhumane manner, Forcing Women, Maiming of Men, Pulling down of Houſes, and all other Extravagancies, which he, and his Helliſh Tribe could invent. I already aſſumed (before I entered upon this Man's Character) to give a remarkable Inſtance of the violence offered to the *Engliſh* for their juſt and legal Proſecution of Notorious *Iriſh* Criminals and Malefactors; which I ſhall now ſet before you in two remarkable Paſſages relating to this Earl, which were publickly tranſacted at the Bar.

One was of a poor *Butcher*, at a Town near *Corke*, who refuſing *Clancarthy*'s Men an Horſe, they violently ſeized him by force, and would never return him to the Owner, which the Man making Complaint of to the Judges of Aſſize, in preſence of the Earl: The Judges ordered ſatisfaction to be made to the Man for his Horſe, which the Earl promiſed to ſee performed: But

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as ſoon as the Judges were departed the Countrey, he takes ſome of his Troopers along with him and goes to the Man's Houſe, and told him that he was come to give him ſatisfaction for his Horſe: Whereupon he forces him out of his Houſe, and ordering the vile Inſtruments, his Troopers, to get a Blanket, and upon a Pavement before the Poor Man's Door, ſtood as a moſt Barbarous and Inhumane Spectator, whilſt they toſſed him in a Blanket, ever and anon letting him fall upon the Stones till they broke him, as if upon the Wheel, all to pieces, and ſo left him dead.

The other Paſſage relating to this fine Spark, was of a Man that had offended him at a place called *Clonmell*; him he firſt had beaten with Sticks, and then hung up by the hair of the Head: he was taken down alive, but what became of him after was not known. The Accomplices of this Tragedy, his Villanous Troopers, were brought to the Bar, and Tried for the Murther, and notwithſtanding that this horrid Action was done in the ſight of an hundred Men, yet were they quitted, and the Earl never Tried.

He to this day proceeds in theſe boundleſs Inhumanities, which perhaps may be an occaſion of great ſorrow and trouble to his Mother.

But to return to the Judges which we left upon their Circuits: Little Juſtice was adminiſtred by them to the *Engliſh*, but in ſuch extraordinary Occurrences where the *Iriſh* were

ſo notoriouſly culpable, as would accuſe them of moſt groſs partiality, to have paſſed Sentence in their favour. But in all things that had but the leaſt ſhadow of Juſtice, or of ſeeming equity and reaſonableneſs in it, they were ſure to carry it; and this was acted in purſuance to one of *Tyrconnel*'s Inſtructions from Court, which was, That the Judges ſhould be directed in their Circuits to undermine and enervate the *Proteſtant Intereſt*, which indeed they did ſo effectually, that no *Engliſh-man* could either get in Rents, or be ſecure of what they had formerly received. For there being a Statute in *Ireland*, which we have not in our *Engliſh* Laws, for Trials by *Civil Bills*, as they call them, which (in the nature of *Chancery*) is ſuch an Arbitrary way of proceeding, as gives the Judges of the Kingdom opportunities, which too many of them (it's ſaid) have made ill uſe of.

By this Arbitrary Method of proceeding, the *Iriſh* had now hit upon an expeditious way, whereby to ruine the *Engliſh*: For 'twas no more but with a Twelvepenny Proceſs flung at any Man's Door, and a falſe Affidavit, made (which the *Iriſh* can as eaſily digeſt as the moſt common Action they do) and ſo an Execution was obtained, directed to an *Iriſh* Sheriff for a pretended Debt of Twenty Years ſtanding, it being very common for an *Iriſh Tenant* to ſue and bring a Fellow to ſwear that in ſuch a Year his Landlord diſtrained Cattle of Twenty or Thirty Pounds value, and had them appraiſed

praiſed at the half proportion of what they were worth: This was ſufficient to obtain an Execution for the relief of the poor diſtreſſed *Catholicks*, a practice become as univerſal againſt, as deſtructive to the *Engliſh*; inſomuch that in the *North* of *Ireland* there was not one man in five of the ordinary *Britiſh* that were not ruined; and had they continued theſe Courſes but few Years longer, together with their exorbitant Proceedings againſt the *Engliſh* in their Mannor, *Sheriffs*, and the like *Inferiour Courts*, (where ſuch barbarous Injuſtices, and publick Oppreſſions, and Violences were acted, as never till then were heard of among Chriſtians) theſe without other means might have wholly reduced the Kingdom into *Iriſh* hands. For as by their Civil Bills at the Aſſizes, and by their notorious Perjuries in the *Inferiour Courts*, they deſtroyed the ſmaller men; ſo by Ejectments in the higher Courts, they took away mens Eſtates in Fee: It being obſerved, That never one Cauſe came before them upon a Trial for Land, but the Judgment was conſtantly given in favour of the *Iriſh*.

Complaints were continually made at Court of theſe irregular Proceedings, and Writs of Errour were brought from *England*, but generally the ſame Judgments were confirmed in this Kingdom; the Judges here being moſt of the ſame Stamp.

Sheridon about this time began to be diſcover- 1687.
ed by *Tyrconnel* to ſell places of all ſorts, both *Eccleſiaſtical*, *Civil*, and *Military*: He was not

only *Principal Secretary of State*, but alſo one of the *Commiſſioners* of the *Cuſtoms*: So that whenever he met with a conveniency of making an advantagious bargain for a place in the *Cuſtome-houſe*, he would pretend to the Commiſſioners, That 'twas my Lord Deputy's Requeſt to have ſuch a Perſon employed. This by degrees increaſed ſo much upon the Commiſſioners, that *Dickiſon*, one of the Commiſſioners, writ over to the *Lords of the Treaſury*, that they were ſo burthened and oppreſſed with *Iriſh* Officers, recommended by the Lord Deputy, that he was afraid that the Revenue would be loſt by ill management. Upon this, my Lord Deputy was ordered not to recommend a man, nor any ways to intermeddle in the Revenue. The Commiſſioners alſo iſſued forth their Orders, poſted up at the Cuſtom-houſe Door, That all Perſons who had Petitioned for Employments in the Cuſtoms or Revenue, ſhould return to their reſpective Abodes, for that there would be no Employments diſpoſed of. This Buſtle created various Diſputes betwixt *Tyrconnel* and *Sheridon*; and from this time forward *Sheridon* contrived to undermine *Tyrconnel*. His firſt Stratagem was to prepoſſeſs the *Romiſh Clergy* againſt him, which to accompliſh, he contracts an intimate Acquaintance with *Tyrconnel*'s Chaplain, that moſt frequently officiated: This Fellow picks up what he could of *Tyrconnel*'s contempt of the Maſs and Prayers: One particular Charge was, That when the Army was in the Camp at the *Curragh of Kildare*, *Tyrconnel* being at play in his Tent,

Tent, the *Prieſt* came to him to know if his *Excellency* would go to Maſs; who replyed, No, he would ſend, (naming ſome body by him) to ſtand in his place, and that would do as well: Of this *Sheridon* being a Bigotted Zealot, gives an account to *Father Petres*, whoſe Niece *Sheridon* had Married, by which means he obtained an intereſt and freedom with the Jeſuit, and not with him only, but with all the *Iriſh Clergy*, eſpecially with the *Titular Primate* of *Armagh*, who being an *Ulſter* man, as *Sheridon* was, had no kindneſs for *Tyrconnel*, who was of the Pale, a ſort of *old Engliſh* degenerated into *Iriſh*, but had in no eſteem by the Natives of the Province of *Ulſter*. The aforeſaid *Titular Primate* then contracted an intimate Familiarity and Acquaintance with his Couſin *Sheridon*, as he called him, and they (with the before-mentioned Prieſt) formed Articles againſt *Tyrconnel*; which having compleated, and *Sheridon* diſpoſed of his Affairs, prays leave of the Lord Deputy to go for *England*, pretending ſome private buſineſs of his own to diſpatch there: But *Tyrconnel* being jealous that he deſigned ſome prejudice to himſelf, would not give him permiſſion to go; upon which, *Sheridon* writes to a Couſin of his to *London* to take out a Licence from the King, which *Father Peters* look'd upon as ſtrange, and ſent him word back, That the King would enquire the reaſon why he had it not from the Lord Deputy. This could not be tranſacted with that ſecrecy at Court, but that *Tyrconnel* had ſome intelligence of it, which exigency drove him to have

have recourſe to his two Grand Counſellors at a dead lift, *Rice*, and *Neagle*, who adviſed him to take no notice, nor ſhew any outward Symptoms of diſcontent againſt *Sheridon*, but rather attend ſome opportunity whereby to intangle him in a ſnare, which ſoon offered, it being *facile baculum invenire*, &c. no difficult matter to find out Treachery and Perfidiouſneſs enough in an *Iriſh-man* whereof to accuſe him. They obſerved that the Lord Deputy's Domeſtick Chaplain was intimately converſant with *Sheridon*, and another Prieſt that was, or called himſelf Couſin to him. To countermine theſe Intriegues the Lord Deputy appoints a third Prieſt, a Confident of his own, to fall into an intimate familiarity with his Brethren, who ſeemed inclined to unite his endeavours with theirs, if they had any intentions of impeaching *Tyrconnel*: The *Prieſt* managed this Affair with ſo much skill and dexterity (verifying the vulgar ſaying of *Setting a Thief to catch a Thief*) that he ſoon wound himſelf into a ſtrict League of Amity with them, and ſo ſeemingly intereſſed in all their Affairs, that they no longer queſtioned his eſpouſing their Party; and to delude them the more artificially pretended to find out new matter of accuſation againſt *Tyrconnel*, which he did ſo effectually, that againſt the Poſt-day he brought his Charge againſt the Lord Deputy in writing under his own hand, which *Sheridon* in his ſight ſealed up, with a great many more in a Pacquet, and directed it to his Couſin in *London*: This being done, the *Prieſt* takes leave of *Sheridon*, and gives

gives notice immediately to *Rice* the chief Baron, who doubted not to trapan him upon this favourable occaſion. *Sheridon* (as uſually) makes up the Lord Deputy's Pacquets, ſending all to the Poſt, with inſtructions for the Pacquet immediately to go to Sea.

Rice and *Neagle* remained in the Lord Deputy's Cloſet, and at twelve of the Clock at Night a Meſſenger was ſent on Board the Pacquet-Boat to fetch off the Male, which being opened, *Sheridon*'s Pacquet was taken out, directed to his Couſin, which diſcovered the whole Intriegue, and among the reſt, the *Iriſh* Primate's concern in the deſign. *Sheridon*'s Pacquet was ſealed up and put into the Male, except one Letter, which was taken out, directed to a certain perſon in *London*, full of vehement Exclamations againſt the Lord Deputy, and giving an account of many of his Articles which he deſigned to impeach him of.

Rice and *Neagle* adviſed the Lord Deputy to write to the Lord *Sunderland*, which he accordingly did, ſetting forth *Sheridon*'s Briberies and other Siniſter Practices, not taking any notice of *Sheridon*'s contrivance againſt himſelf. All this was done when *Sheridon* was aſleep, and not ſuſpicious of any deſign againſt him, which the better to diſguiſe, *Tyreonnel* ſtill carried himſelf to him with the ſame unconcernedneſs as formerly.

At this time happened the death of the Biſhop of *Clogher*, in order to which Commiſſioners were appointed for ſetting and diſpoſing of the Revenue of that Biſhoprick: 'Twas adjacent to

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Sheridon's Countrey, who had abundance of Couſins (eſpecially upon ſuch an occaſion as this) ſome of which he endeavoured to prefer in that Employment, thereby hoping to have fiſhed out ſomething for himſelf; but the Lord Chief Baron was now (though he knew it not) become his formidable oppoſite, and there was one of the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms, *Dickiſon* by name, that was a perſon, as well of great experience as of integrity and honeſty, who kept a vigilant eye upon *Sheridon*; for though he had a great hand over, and much influenced the reſt of the Commiſſioners, yet could he never prevail upon *Dickiſon*.

Now arrives the return of his Pacquet to his Couſin in *London*, but with no good account of his Affairs: The reaſon of which ill ſucceſs was *Sunderland*'s acquainting *Father Peters* with the complaints that were made againſt him by the Lord Deputy, and thereupon ſhewed him his Letter from *Tyrconnel*. That Letter which was taken out of the Pacquet in *Dublin* was not miſſed by *Sheridon*'s Couſin in *London*, who only writ back to him, That he had delivered his ſeveral Letters as directed, and no more.

'Twas now time for the Lord Deputy to break publickly with *Sheridon*, and in order to it ſends for him into his Cloſet, there being preſent with him, the Earl of *Lymerick*, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Nugent*, the Lord Chief Baron *Rice*, Judge *Daly*, and ſome others: The Lord Deputy demanded of *Sheridon*, Whether or no he had written any thing againſt him to *London*? *Sheridon*

ridon who wanted not Confidence, or rather Impudence (with which his Countreymen do univerſally abound to an immenſe proportion and degree) anſwered, That he had not, but that he had heard that his Excelleney had writ againſt him, which ſo enraged the Lord Deputy (who is a great *Furioſo*, and can preſcribe no limits to his Paſſion) that he could not contain from calling him Traytour, Cheat, Rogue, *&c.* and pulling out *Sheridon*'s Letter, asked him if that was not his hand, which for the preſent put him into great diſorder and confuſion, but after ſome recollection he aſſumed to juſtifie himſelf, and to enter into a Capitulation with the Lord Deputy, at which *Tyrconnel* roſe in exceſs of fury to kick him; ſo he was turned out. *Tyrconnel* and his Party were in long conſideration how to proceed in this nice Conjuncture of Affairs: They dreaded not *Sheridon*'s intereſt, or Impeachments ſo much, as this opportunity of awakening his Excellency's Enemies at Court: After various Debates, 'twas at laſt reſolved, That *Daly* ſhould take *Sheridon* to Task, and ſo accommodate the matter as to ſtifle any farther noiſe of it, which *Sheridon* was ready enough to embrace; but at the ſame time both the Lord Deputy and he had mutual Jealouſies of, and ſtrove who ſhould firſt intrap one another.

The Lord Deputy (by reaſon of his averſion to him, for ſiding with *Sheridon*) does now revive the Quarrel, that the *Iriſh Clergy* had with the *Primate*, eſpecially the *Archbiſhop* of *Caſhell*.

I call the *Titular* one ſo in this Diſcourſe. Upon an Aſſembly of the *Titular Popiſh Biſhops* of *Ireland*, great Debate aroſe concerning the Priority of their Juriſdictions; in reference to which, the *Primate* inſolently uſurped over them all, not diſtinguiſhing the *Archbiſhop*, which he of *Caſhell* reſenting as a great Indignity and Affront, inflamed the difference to a great height, and cauſed them to break up abruptly, and in great diſcontent with one another.

Caſhell is the more Learned Man, the *Primate* being univerſally contemned by their own Party, as neither reſpected by them as a Scholar, or a Man of Parts, which general diſeſteem made moſt of the *Clergy* that were conſiderable (I mean the *Dignitaries*) bandy againſt him; and their Prejudice ran ſo high, that they ſent over to *Father Peters* (who promoted their Applications to the King) to have a *Co-adjutor* impoſed upon him. The King writes about it to the *Pope* with aggravating Exclamations of the *Primate's* Miſcarriages and Inſufficiency; to which the Pope replied, That he was one of his own Election, and ſo indeed he was, being a Fryar in *Spain*, and coming over *Chaplain* to the *Spaniſh Embaſſador*, at the time of the *Primate* of *Ireland's* being Executed, he prevailed with the *Embaſſador* to preſent him to the Duke of *York*, who writ to the *Pope* in his behalf, upon whoſe recommendation he got the Mitre. This Quarrel of the *Iriſh Clergy* had been dormant for ſome time, but the Deputy to execute his Revenge upon the *Primate*, thought it now ſeaſonable to awaken and revive it: But this

this continued not long upon the Stage, for he ſoon received a ſevere reprimand from *Father Peters* for this raſh Action, who was extreamly moved at the proceeding. This being the moſt effectual courſe whereby to render their Party ridiculous and contemptible to the World, that whilſt they were ſo induſtriouſly contriving to eſtabliſh their Religion, they ſhould at once break all their former meaſures by endeavouring to ſupplant and deſtroy one another: And therefore 'twas immediately huſhed up in a deep ſilence, and the *Primate* (at leaſt ſeemingly, and to outward appearance) reconciled to the Lord Deputy.

Sheridon again aſſumes to Petition for leave to go for *England*, aſſuring his Excellency, That 'twas only in order to purſue ſome private buſineſs of his own: That he had a Law-ſuit for ſome Debt due to his Wife, which required his attendance, *&c.* but all would not prevail to obtain permiſſion, wherefore he employs his Wife's intereſt at *London*, and by *that way* ſollicits the King with ſo much importunity, till at laſt an Order was got for his going over.

About the Ninth of *December* in this Year, upon a *Sunday* Morning there happened ſuch an Inundation of Water in the City of *Dublin*, as no man was ever a Spectator of the like: It carried away *Stone-Bridges*, deſtroyed *Houſes*, and without intermiſſion continued *three days* overflowing a great part of the City, to the unſpeakable damage of many Thouſands; and that which 1687.

encreased the Prodigy, was, That no Rain fell, save a few Showers upon the *Saturday* Night before. This besides the considerable detriment to, or rather apparent ruine of many *English*, was accounted by many as a miraculous act of the Divine Providence, and interpreted as an ominous Presage of that Deluge of Troubles which has since so universally descended upon the poor *English* in that distressed Kingdom.

But to come again to *Sheridon*, who now arrives at *London*, but 'twas near four and twenty hours before he could speak with *Sunderland*, who after his admittance gave him but a cold reception; the reason of which (as 'twas conjectured) was, that *Sunderland* expected that which *Sheridon* was not yet Master of; for he had but just began his Trade when the Lord Deputy and he fell at variance.

This indifferency, or rather coldness in *Sunderland*, did not hinder him from applying to the rest of his Friends, but was so unhappy as to find by them, that there was no expectation of removing *Tyrconnel*; for he was fortified with the **French Interest**, and was in a manner Deputy to *Lewis*, not *James*; it being said in *Paris* when News came there of *Tyrconnel*'s being struck out, That there was none in *England* durst move him: and so it appeared as we shall find hereafter.

Sheridon wanted not those which were *Favourites* and *Well-wishers* to his design against the Deputy, as *Castlemain*, *Powis*, and another not to be named, but they durst not trust *Sheridon* with their Sentiments, but sent some of their Confi-

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dents to animate him with general Promises, without naming any body: He found himself now involved in great danger, and in three days turned his Story, and went to *Sunderland*, to whom he had at first only complained of the Lord Deputy's unkindness, but now comes, and positively affirms, that he brought over no Articles against him, nor could say any thing but what was honourable of him, only that his Excellency had taken displeasure against him, he knew not why, *&c.* and that the occasion of his coming over, was to follow his own private business: *Father Peters*, his Wife's Uncle, would not carry him to kiss the King's hand, but at last his Friend, the Lord *Sunderland*, got him admittance: However the King would not hear him speak, in so great awe stood he to his **Brother**, or rather **Master of France**, whose Creature *Tyrconnel* was.

Sheridon had not continued three days in *London*, when he was followed by the Lord *Dongan*, a Young Man, Son to the Earl of *Lymerick*: He brought Letters to *Sunderland* and others, setting forth *Sheridon* in black Characters; which Negotiation so succeeded, that *Father Peters* would admit him no more in his presence: And now those Lords which would have privately supported him against *Tyrconnel*, deserted, and declaimed against him, when they perceived that he publickly magnified his Master; by which means he was wholly left to himself, and *Tyrconnel*'s Party vigorously pursued him here as a Delinquent, and had it immediately inserted in the

the News-Letter, That he was turned out of his Employments in *Ireland*, and ſo he had notice given him, that he was too that of being Secretary, and a *Popiſh Biſhop* preferred to his place.

Sheridon was now involved in very great ſtreights to go back; he conſidered 'twas to no purpoſe: To remain here 'twas not poſſible for him without the aſſiſtance of Friends, and none would appear for him: At length he delivers a Petition with his own hand to the King, deſiring that he might be heard ſpeak for himſelf, and not be Condemned to utter Deſtruction, as he accounted it to be, if he ſtood not in his Majeſty's favour. The King gave him no other Anſwer, but that he muſt return to the Lord Deputy, and there juſtifie himſelf; this he reckoned to be hard upon him, but waiting upon the Lord *Sunderland* for ſome order to carry back, upon which he grounded his Trial, 'twas thought fit to name the *Chief Judges* to *hear*, and to *report* back the Matter to the King, as they ſhould find it. With this order he returns for *Ireland*, together with a *Letter of Recommendation* from *Sunderland* to the Lord Deputy, praying his Lordſhip to take Compaſſion of the Poor Man, who was ſufficiently mortify'd by what he had already ſuffered in the loſs of his Secretaries Place, and that if his Excellency ſhould purſue him farther to the loſing of his Commiſſioners Place in the Cuſtoms, he was a Ruined Man, for that the King had declared if Matters alledged againſt him were proved, he ſhould never have any Employment in his

his Dominions; and in the Cloſe added, That Acts of Clemency were ſuitable to perſons of his Excellency's Quality and Station, *&c.* But matters were now come to too high a pitch, and the breach was too wide ever to be patched up together again, as it had been once already by Judge *Daly*'s mediation betwixt them. *Sheridon*, or ſome in his ſtead had even in *Dublin* whilſt this was tranſacting, ſpoke contemptibly of the Lord Deputy, in order to applaud *Sheridon* as a Triumphant Conquerour: For ſo the Populace had cryed him up in *Dublin*, and the *Proteſtant Party* in *Ireland*, out of Enmity to *Tyrconnel*, which it ſeems they thought to be the worſe man of the two, though in reality *Sheridon* as an Apoſtate was the greater Villain.

Upon *Sheridon*'s Arrival at *Dublin*, he repaired to the *Caſtle* with his Papers, but was not admitted to the preſence of the Lord Deputy: He then goes to the *Cuſtom-houſe*, and there ſits among his Brethren. The next day the Lord Deputy adviſes with the *Judges* what to do with him, for his Stomach could not digeſt his enjoying any Place in the Kingdom, whilſt he continued *Chief Governour*. The *Judges* Counſelled to appoint a *Day of Hearing*, and in the mean time to ſuſpend him from ſitting in the *Cuſtom-Houſe*. *Sheridon* had this order ſent him, upon which he came to the Caſtle, and diſputed his being ſuſpended, as if not in the Lord Deputy's Power. This Demeanour was an Aggravation to his former, and upon farther conſulting with the *Judges*, 'twas agreed, That ſince much of the proof of *Sheridon*'s

don's Bribery depended upon the Officers concerned in the Revenue, 'twould be abſolutely neceſſary to heap as much Ignominy and Diſgrace upon him in that Province, as was poſſible; which to effect, the *Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms* were ſent for, and ordered to write to all the Collectors of the Kingdom not to keep any correſpondence with *Sheridon*, in regard that he was ſuſpended from acting in the Revenue.

A day being appointed for *Sheridon* to come to an Hearing, he moved for more time, which was readily granted; for at this time another blow from *Rome* came againſt *Tyrconnel*, which required his beſt Miniſters to divert, which was as follows.

The Earl of *Caſtlemain* had for ſome time been returned from his Embaſſy to the Pope, but was Inveſted in no Preferment, which he complained of to his *Holineſs*, which was ſeconded by *Father Peters*; upon the receipt of whoſe Letters, his *Holineſs* writes over to his *Nuncio*, to Addreſs to the King in his behalf; who was as ready to gratifie him in ſomething, as the other to embrace it, but at preſent there was no vacancy: But to ſupply that, *Father Peters* takes opportunity to ſtrike at *Jeffreys the Lord Chancellor*, for tampering in the buſineſs of *Magdalen-College*, in order to which, he roundly acquaints the King, That the moſt effectual courſe whereby to accompliſh his deſign by eſtabliſhing the *Catholick Religion*, was, to let his *Prime Miniſters* and the *World* underſtand, that no ſervice, they had or could do, ſhould protect them, or be deemed of any account

if

if they failed in the leaſt *Iota* or minuteſt Circumſtance relating to the *Catholick Cauſe*. This Argument was ſo purſued with a conſtant uninterrupted vigour by the *Nuncio* and *Father Peters*. that 'twas brought to the Cabinet, and upon the Seventeenth of *December* at Night in this Year it was reſolved, That *Jeffreys* ſhould be put out, and that three of the *Lords of the Treaſury* ſhould be made *Lords Commiſſioners* of the *Broad Seal*, and that *Caſtlemain* ſhould be *Lord Treaſurer*. This Reſolve continued not ten days, but upon the ſuddain the Scene changed, and *Jeffreys* fixed more firm than ever. The true cauſe of this was never known, but 'twas obſerved, that the *Queen* and *Sunderland* adhered to him. This adminiſtred freſh cauſe of diſguſt to *Caſtlemain* and to the Church Party; for now it began to appear that Affairs moved by the **French Intereſt**, in oppoſition to that of *Rome*: Such inſuperable Difficulties had the Folly of that poor unfortunate King expoſed him to: His Zeal and Affection led him to adhere to *Rome*, but his dependance was intirely built upon **France**.

The *Church Cabal* embraced the opportunity of the Lord Deputy's and *Sheridon*'s Quarrelling, wherein to recommend *Caſtlemain* as a fit perſon for the Government of *Ireland*, repreſenting to the full how injurious thoſe Scandalous Impeachments of the Lord Deputy and *Sheridon* had been to, and how much they had retarded the Progreſs of the *Catholick Cauſe*: Farther urging that *Tyrconnel* had proceeded by too ſlow a motion, and that he had effected nothing but the turning

out of a few Soldiers, and diſcourageing and frightening away the Induſtrious *Engliſh* who might (many of them) by Indulgence and Encouragement have been prevailed upon to eſpouſe their Religion: That *Caſtlemain* was a Man of great Parts, and of a fine curious Head for the accompliſhing of ſuch a Work as the Reducing and Converting of *Hereticks*.

This was ſoon ſent to *Tyrconnel*, and by his Penſioner in *London* Communicated to *Paris*, which the Deputy acquaints his two Grand States-men *Rice* and *Neagle* with, who to diſſipate this approaching Storm, ſit up Night and Day, even to the hazard of *Rice*'s Life, who was an Infirm Man.

Their whole Conſult was (as appeared afterwards) what Apology to make for their ſmall Proficiency in Proſelyting Men to their Religion, or at leaſt in indearing them to the eſpouſal of the *Romiſh* Cauſe and Intereſt, and after many Eſſays, the moſt Authentick was, that whilſt the *Engliſh* were Maſters of their Lands, they feared not the Government, but as *Satan* anſwered in the Caſe of *Job*, Touch them but in their Eſtates, and they will either run into Treaſon or Converſion. This being reſolved upon, *Rice* and *Neagle* were to draw up the ſubſtance of an Act, which they did in that nature as gave (in a manner) the Lands of the whole Kingdom into the power of the King, and although the *Catholicks* were to have but half of their Eſtates, yet the other part was to be under ſuch Qualifications, as that the King might diſpoſe of it to ſuch

as

as he found to be obedient Sons. This if the King would have purſued, a Parliament they could have had when they pleaſed, fitted for their turn, all Corporations being already put into *Popiſh* hands, and all the Sheriffs of the Counties being *Papiſts*, would be ſure not to make returns to their diſadvantage.

This Conſult being come to this ripeneſs, 'twas concluded, that *Rice* ſhould go over as Plenipotentiary in negotiating this Affair, which was mannaged with that privacy and reſervedneſs, that not one of the Council knew of it till the Warrant was ſigned for the Yatcht to carry him over: But as ſoon as this became publick, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Nugent* flew about like lightening to all his Friends, to make an intereſt to go over with *Rice*, which *Neagle* and *Rice* privately oppoſed; for as one of them told the Author, he was good for nothing but to ſpoil a buſineſs; when nothing could prevail, he pretended ſome affairs of his own, and ſo obtained leave to go over, and for the honour of the buſineſs, was joined with *Rice*, to preſent that which was publickly to be offered, but was not in any part of the cret intriegue, to render the undertaking more proſperous. For the Deliverance of the *Iriſh* Nation, they Embark'd upon St. Patrick's Day; but conſidering the bad ſucceſs they met with, they might as well have put him out of their Kalendar, as by a particular order from *Rome*, they had formerly done St. *Luke*, becauſe upon that Holy-day the *Engliſh* had obtained a great Victory over them in the laſt *Rebellion*. 1688.

But to return to the *Irish* Embassadors (for so they were called here in *England*) over they came, and after *Rice* had paid a Visit to the Jesuits (of whose Society he was once a Novice, and had been educated in their Colledge) he made his first Court to the Lord *Sunderland*. *Father Peters* he found not favourable to his design, but the **French Faction** was his chief dependance, to whom he had always a recourse in his private Consults, without communicating any thing to his Colleague, whom he kept in great ignorance of the private intriegue of *Castlemain* against the Lord Deputy. 'Twas *Rice*'s chief business to possess the Conclave with a great opinion of the Lord Deputy's extraordinary Zeal for the promotion of the *Catholick Cause*, and that he had made a much greater Progress in it before that time, if the want of a Parliament, and the continuance of the Act of Settlement, had not retarded that design; without which *Rice* alledged, That 'twas impossible to make Converts, or to Proselyte any to their Party, who thought themselves Masters of the Kingdom, whilst they had the Laws on their side, and made it their boast, That the King durst not attempt to meddle with them. So that as Affairs stood, there seemed a more rational probability, that the *Roman Catholicks* should condescend to the *Protestants*, than they to the *Roman Catholicks*. Thus was *Rice* very active, and industrious, in urging and propagating the intriegue, which when it was fully comprehended by his Party, *Father Peters* was with much difficulty influenced so far

far as to join in it, though at firſt he could not be prevailed upon to hear of it: For he was abſolutely byaſs'd for *Caſtlemain*'s intereſt, and being no Politician, but a perfect fury, and of an Imperious Temper, was wont to contemn every thing that was not his humour: But this Project being a work of expedition in *Ireland*, and (in his own Style) to Convert or Confound the *Hereticks* there; he at laſt embraced it, and when once he became intereſſed, nothing muſt be done but by his direction and advice; ſo 'twas concluded upon, that the Project ſhould be laid open before *Sunderland*, and that when he was made Maſter of it, he and *Father Peters* would wait on the King with it: And to oblige *Sunderland*'s more chearful and hearty concurrence in this Affair, he was to be made ſenſible what ſignal advantages would be derived to his Lordſhip from ſo great a Revolution in that Kingdom, a matter which required no great art ſo to inſtil it into him, as to make it intelligible.

But notwithſtanding *Father Peters* adherence to this Project, yet did he continue in his former Inclinations for removing *Tyrconnel*: And 'twas believed that happy difference among the ſeveral *Romiſh Factions*, was the prime occaſion of diverting this fatal blow deſign'd for *Ireland*.

The buſineſs was in the Cloſet fully diſcours'd to the King by none but *Sunderland* and *Peters*, (who with the liberty of a digreſſion, I muſt acquaint the Reader, was not infallible in keeping Secrets.) The King was ſoon fully inclined to the thing, but how to paſs it at the Council, *Hic labor, hoc opus eſt*, there lay the ſtreſs of the buſineſs;

neſs; for he was very apprehenſive that ſuch as were oppoſite to *Tyrconnel*'s continuance in the Government of *Ireland*, would be more violent againſt his being there with a Parliament too great for ſuch a Man whom the Council had in contempt. *Peters* thought he could eaſily remove that obſtacle by introducing the Popes recommendation of *Caſtlemain*, but over that the *French* King had laid his hand, to whom the poor King was become a Vaſſal. Amidſt theſe difficulties, 'twas hard to form a reſolution, but however 'twas agreed to, that the two Judges ſhould be publickly introduc'd to the King with their project for calling a Parliament in *Ireland*, and to lay at his Majeſty's feet the deplorable condition of his *Catholick* Subjects there, occaſioned by the palpable injuſtice and oppreſſion of the Act of Settlement, which was ſo notorious, that the very *Proteſtants* themſelves were aſhamed of it, and would gladly part with enough to ſatisfie the *Iriſh*, in caſe that they might have a good Act of Parliament to ſecure the reſt. All this was put in practice, and they brought to *Whitehall*, where the King received their Project in writing, and told them, he would adviſe with his Council about it.

Now 'twas the conſtant method of King *James* in any thing of weight, or importance, to conſider it firſt in the Cabal, before 'twas propoſed at Council-Board; yet this thing, upon which entirely depended the Settlement or ruine of a Kingdom, had not that Sanction, but was carried immediately to the Council, which was matter of admiration to many, but ſuppoſed to be done for one

one of theſe two Reaſons, either that the King was conſcious that thoſe of the Cabinet would not ſuffer it to proceed any farther, but was in hopes ſo to influence the Judges and other Tools, he had at the Council-Board, to vote for it: Or elſe that he would ſhew his indifferency in the matter, that ſo it might not be thought any private intrigue.

The King brought this project the firſt Council-day, and in few words acquainted the Council with its importance and contents, and by whom preſented to him: no man ſpoke a word either in favour of, or in oppoſition to the thing, but deſired it might be read; which being done, the Lord *Bellaſis* in a ſtorm of Paſſion inveigh'd bitterly againſt it, ſaying that, **If ſuch deſigns as thoſe were encouraged, they of** England, (meaning the *Catholicks*) **had beſt in time to look out for ſome other Country, and not ſtay to be a mad Sacrifice for Iriſh Rebels.** *Powis*, according to the beſt of his underſtanding ſeconded; and in ſhort, 'twas ſo run down, that neither *Sunderland* nor *Peters*, durſt attempt to ſpeak a word in its vindication, but only deſired, that thoſe Gentlemen which brought over thoſe Papers might be heard. *Bellaſis* was for committing them, or commanding their immediate return; but 'twas at laſt thought reaſonable to hear them, ſo a day was appointed.

The noiſe of this, and the ſucceſs it had met with at Council-Board, flew abroad with great Exclamations, the Boys in the ſtreet running after the Coach where *Rice* and *Nugent* at any time were, with *Pottatoes* ſtuck on ſticks, and crying,

Wake

Make room for the Irish Embassadors: 'Twas believed that some of the *Popish* Party did blow up the People, that so the King might be sensible what mischief this would tend to.

The day came on for *these Embassadors* to be heard at Council-board, where *Rice* made a Speech full of Policy and Artifice, and answered the Objections made by the Lord *Bellasis* and *Powis*; but when *Nugent* came to speak, he kicked down all that *Rice* had done, and *Bellasis* presently discovered the defect of his *Irish understanding*, as he call'd it, abusing him beyond the respect due to the place where the King was, calling him **Fool and Knave**, and *Powis* did the same. They were not long in tearing this fine Project to pieces, which when they had done, *Bellasis* bid them make haste to **the Fool their Master, and bid him next Message he sent, to employ Wiser Men, and upon a more honest Errand.** Powis **bid them tell him, That the King had better use to make of his Catholick Subjects in** England, **than to Sacrifice them for reprize to the** Protestants **of** Ireland **in lieu of their Estates there.**

In short, every one fell so violently upon them at the Board, that the King remained silent, and without any resolve or order, broke up the Council, and neither the Embassadors nor their Project appeared more upon the Stage, but kissing the King's Hand, march'd off with great hast and precipitation; for they *were* afraid that even the *Roman Catholicks themselves* would have affronted 'em.

1688. This Miscarriage of *Tyrconnell*'s gave fresh opportunity to the *Castlemanians* to raise Objections against

againſt him, ſetting forth what miſchiefs he had already done in that Kingdom; that the Revenue was ſunk to an incredible abatement, and that in one year more there would not be left money enough in the *Kingdom* to diſcharge the Army, and that this laſt Project of his would exaſperate, and frighten away thoſe of the *Engliſh* which were left, who being the dealing and induſtrious people of the Nation, would put a final period to all Trade and Commerce in that waſted and depopulated Countrey: But all theſe juſt and reaſonable Allegations, (which matter of fact, and the preſent ruinous and diſtracted Eſtate of that *Kingdom*, did but too fully evince the truth, or rather infallibility of) though judiciouſly laid down before the *King* by ſober and conſidering perſons, yet were they all to no purpoſe: For though the *King* kept it private from moſt of his Council, yet certain it is, that he had promiſed the *French King* the diſpoſal of that Government and *Kingdom*, when things had attained to that growth, as to be fit to bear it: This jumped near to the time of the *King's Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience*, and the *Biſhops Commitment to the Tower*: And as one had ruined *England*, if the viſible hand of Supream Providence had not ſignally and miraculouſly interpos'd, by inſpiring the Biſhops with couragious and invincible reſolutions in a juſt vindication of the *Proteſtant Cau e* and *Religion*; ſo the other had ſtruck the fatal blow to the Laws and Fundamental Conſtitutions of *Ireland*, if ſome *Huſhai's* even amongſt the *Romiſh Faction* had not turned the pernicious Counſels of theſe *Achitophels* into folly.

The expected ſucceſs of the aforeſaid Embaſſa-

dors Negotiation, which by one Party was dreaded, by the other hop'd to prove answerable to its *design*, made various impressions upon men in proportion to their different interests. The *English* were apprehensive of no less a change than a total subversion of the Government, and an unraveling of all the Laws made for the security of their Estates and Religion, which the unhinging the Act of Settlement (the sole occasion of this Solemn Embassy) would at one blow compleat. The Natives were (imaginarily) in actual possession: Their apprehensions whereof were such as discovered all the outward signs and indications of so high a satisfaction, as cannot be easily represented. Joy and Triumph was in all their Actions and Discourses: Fancy and Imagination wrought very powerfully, and like Men in *Bedlam*, who dream of nothing but Kingdoms and Empires, they seem'd to shew as much Complacency, and to be alike transported with the airy hopes of getting, as if they had been already invested in their Estates: But this Scene of Joy, which had been represented with so much splendour and magnificence, soon disappear'd, and a Melancholy Prospect over-shadowed with a dark Cloud, was quickly brought upon the Stage, when they perceiv'd all their hopes blasted in the fruitless consequences of this great intrigue. *Parturiunt montes*, their high expectations soon descended to a low ebb and they were quickly under as great despondency (by this suddain turn of the Spoke in the Wheel) as they were before of satisfaction. For as they are wont to put no bounds to their Ecstasies, and transports in prosperous, so neither do they limit their sorrow and despair, upon adverse Con-

Contingencies. An unequalneſs of mind, and reſolution very remarkable among the *Iriſh*, who like the floating *Euripus*, have no conſiſtency in themſelves, but are carried up and down in their hopes and fears, according as every petty accident does either invite or diſcourage.

But to return to *Sheridon* whoſe Trial *Rice* and *Nugent*'s abſence had retarded, and the ill effects of whoſe Negotiation had ſo exalted him that he begun to vaunt over his Enemies, openly exclaiming upon the Lord Deputy, and withal adding, That he would ſoon be removed from the Government, and ſuch advantage did he derive from this diſgrace *Tyrconnell* met with in *England*, that he held the Lord Deputy and his Judges, at defiance, and was now become ſo imperious that his braging and threatening the Evidence took off ſeveral. And the truth is, after that *Rice* returned from *England* they were in ſuch deſpondency, expecting every day a new Lord Lieutenant, inſomuch that one day *Tyrconnell* himſelf ſaid publickly to ſome Officers at the Caſtle, that though he had great aſſurance from the King, that he ſhould not be removed, yet now he heard that he ſhould, and wiſh'd that he had given Five Thouſand Pounds to have known it a Month ſooner, which expreſſion was much wondered at.

Sheridon now comes upon his Tryal, having four 1688.
Counſels all *Proteſtants*, or at leaſt, who pretended to be ſuch, for two of them have ſince by their actions given cauſe of ſuſpicion, *viz. Whitched* and *Donohan*, two intire Friends; the firſt now with King *James* in *Ireland*, and employed a Judge of *Oyer* and *Terminer* to try *Proteſtants* for their *Rebellion*.

Donohan is here, and makes as fair a shew for King *William*, as his Brother *whiched* for King *James*, but had the misfortune of being discovered to procure a Pass for his Brothers Son that was here employed by King *James*, and one of his Converts, who 'tis said, has since returned hither from *Ireland* with Intelligence from King *James*. Two as good *Protestants* as Brethren, but both in Iniquity.: One acts by a Commission from King *James* against those of his own Church, and Profession, and not only so, but interprets that to be Rebellion, which was grounded upon no other design than an absolute preservation of their Lives from the bloody Massacres of the *Irish*, who having robb'd and pillaged them of their substance, at the next step would have broke into their Houses, and have cut their Throats, from which they were bound by the Law of Nature, and consequently by that of Religion, (to which the last carries no opposition, but is derived from it as its prime and original foundation) to defend themselves. But is it possible for any one that stiles himself a *Protestant*, so shamefully to temporize and prevaricate as against the Laws of Nature and Humanity thus (as it were) to prey upon his own kind? The other promotes King *James*'s interest, though not publickly, and upon the open stage, yet by private and secret machinations, though at the same time he seems a zealous adherer to the present Government: An Hypocrisie, which, I pray, may be as much beyond a Parallel, as 'tis without excuse.

But I come to *Sheridon*: The Charge that was brought against him, was, for selling of Places, and receiving extravagant Fees in his Office. To prove which

which there were Witnesses of all sorts brought from all parts of the Kingdom, to which *Sheridon* and his Counsel made defence only by criminating the Evidence, or making them interessed as Parties that swore to get money, if they could fix it upon him. The chief Evidence produc'd against him was a Priest that he had employed to bring in Grist to his Mill.

This Priest he brought Evidence to prove he was a Man of a lewd and infamous Character, guilty of several vile actions, as of Bastardy, *&c.* Much time was consumed in hearing impertinent stuff, not worth my filling Paper with, or the trouble of the Reader's perusal, but in the end he was dismist of his Employments, and so went off the Stage the worst of men, had he not left an *Ellis* behind him, a Miscreant of all Shapes, that hath since been the Engine of Murthers and Rapins in that Countrey.

But now comes into *Ireland* one Captain *Bridges*, 1688.
who rid Post to bring the happy News of the Birth of the *supposed Prince of Wales*: For which he received the Honour of Knighthood by the Name of Sir *Matthew Bridges*.

What Tongue can express, or man describe the extravagancy of those Joys which possessed the *Irish* at the arrival of this News? Their former apprehensions of the shortness of their triumph, by reason of King *James*'s declension in Age, and the prospect of a *Protestant Successor*, had extreamly imbittered their greatest Comforts, and caus'd an intermixture of hopes and fears. But now that they had got a *Young Prince* that would become a *Patron* to the *Holy Church*, this soon dissipated all

all their troubles. They now conſidered, that their Religion would be perpetuated to future Ages, and that upon this fund they might not only extirpate Hereſie, but ſo eſtabliſh the Holy *Catholick Religion*, as to remain to all Poſterity: For now (in the Scripture Phraſe, which they uſurpingly *monopolize* and improperly apply to themſelves) *The Gates of Hell was never like to prevail againſt their Church.* Theſe were ſuch ſweet Reflections as they never before had a perfect reliſh of, and which ſuch narrow Breaſts, and earthy Souls, were not capable to contain, or to contemplate upon, without making a violent eruption into all the outward demonſtrations of an inconceivable ſatisfaction. 'Twould require a Volume to deſcribe the particularities of thoſe various Scenes of Joy, which they ſhew'd upon this occaſion Let this ſuffice, That no Arts of Extravagancy were omitted, whereby to repreſent their boundleſs Complacencies. This News gave them ſo victorious an aſcendant over the *Engliſh*, that they were now become the ſcorn and contempt of thoſe individual perſons who had been their Slaves and Vaſſals, inſomuch, that the meaneſt Labourer would now upon the leaſt provocation, threaten to hang his Maſter. One pleaſant inſtant to this purpoſe, I cannot omit, the Author being an Ear-witneſs of it. A Labourer came to his Maſter very ſoberly, and told him he owed him a Cow, and bid him give it him preſently; the Gentleman laughed at him, for he owed him not a Penney; upon which the Fellow growing angry, the Gentleman called him Raſcal, and offered to beat him; but the Servant was not only too quick, but too ſtrong for the Maſter, whom he was very fairly

ly about to Cudgel; but Company interpoſing diverted him from his intention: But the Jeſt ſtill remains, which he ſpake in *Iriſh*, but being interpreted runs in *Engliſh* thus, You Engliſh Churle, (with an Oath by his Maker and St. *Patrick*) I will hang thee with theſe hands, as well as ever thou waſt hanged in thy life. But the poor Gentleman was afraid that he would have given him ſuch an Hanging as is never uſed but once.

The News of the *Biſhops* being committed to the Tower, came ſome few days before that of the Prince of *Wales*'s Birth, either of which gave them abundantly more joy than they could poſſibly bear, but being united, put them into ſtrange Convulſions. Their Paſſions were now outragious, having both theſe at once upon their hearts, and now that they muſt vent themſelves, 'twas a moſt difficult thing to reſtrain their hands from cutting of *throats*, it being natural to them in their drink and reveling Debaucheries, for want of Enemies, to ſtab one another, and contrary to other Brutes (for they deſerve no better Name) they are moſt miſchievous when beſt pleaſed. Then is revived an old Quarrel of the Grandfathers (commenced an hundred years ago) and the revenge muſt be executed, if any of the *Clan* (as they call them) be in the Company.

Before I take leave of our ſuppoſed Prince of *Wales*'s Birth, I muſt not omit to acquaint the Reader of the univerſal confidence of all the *Iriſh* in the Kingdom, that the Queen (as ſoon as 'twas ſaid ſhe had Conceiv'd) was with Child of a Son. This they were ſo certain of, that they would lay you Twenty Guineas to one, or any other Wager in proportion to that, from the higheſt to the low-

eſt

eſt amongſt them. This confidence was much wondered at by the *Engliſh*, and judged to be very unreaſonable, if not built upon ſome private Grounds and Inducements, which I leave the Reader to gueſs at, which ſome amongſt them were certainly acquainted with, whoſe Diſcourſes among the reſt created in them a belief of ſome extraordinary deſign then in agitation: Otherwiſe they would never have been ſo forward in propoſing ſuch extravagant Wagers, which when the *Engliſh* enquir'd the reaſon of, they attributed their great aſſurance to the Prayers of their Infallible Church, which were daily offered to God upon this account, and would undoubtedly meet with a ſuitable return: But it appeared plain enough, that though this was generally aſcribed as the true cauſe of their great confidence, yet that they had other Latent Reaſons which were not fit to be diſcovered.

1688. But to leave this and proceed to other Matters. The Judges of Aſſize even *Daly* that was the juſteſt man amongſt them, and who in the firſt Circuit he went did good ſervice in hanging of his Countreymen, did now this Summer-Circuit favour all Criminals, and having Sheriffs of their own, packed ſuch Juries as neither Murther nor Felony, if committed upon *Proteſtants*, was adjudg'd to be a Crime, and where Matters were ſo apparent, that they could not poſſibly but find them, the utmoſt extremity us'd was *Burning in the Hand*. 'Twas ſaid, that the Lord Deputy had particular Commands from King *James* in this matter for theſe Reaſons. Firſt, They Hanged none but *Catholicks*. For 'tis ſcarce known in an Age (which beſpeaks the

the great honeſty and integrity of the ordinary ſort of *Proteſtants*) that any *Engliſh man* turns a *Tory*, or is guilty of Theft.

In the ſecond place, 'twas thought the beſt way to deſtroy the *Proteſtants*, and 'twas obſerv'd that none were rob'd but **Incorrigible** Engliſh **Fanaticks**, as they called them, and thoſe were deemed to be ſuch, that were ſo inflexible to all their blandiſhing arts of perſwaſion, and alluring enticements, as there remained no hopes of their Converſion. Whereas in all parts of *Ireland* there were too too many *Laodicean* and Temporiſing *Proteſtants* who being related to the old ſtock of the Kingdom, could eaſily ſhelter themſelves under the covert and protection of the *Iriſh* Gentry and Grandees, and theſe luke-warm Indifferents were thoſe which the *Engliſh* were moſt afraid of.

The Judges purſued their Inſtructions to the utmoſt, and now that notorious principle which the *Church of Rome* is aſhamed to own, but daily practiſes, *That no Faith is to be kept with*, (and give me leave to add) *nor juſtice given to Hereticks*, was ſignally demonſtrated at this juncture. For now, tho' both Laity and Clergy lay every day more and more under additional grievances, yet 'twas apparent that there was no hopes of any redreſs. The Laity had not only great arrears of Rent due to them, but ſtill more and more old pretences were reviv'd by the *Iriſh* of Debts due to them ten or twenty years ago, which they now ſued for, as pretending that they could have no juſtice in the *Proteſtant Government*, which was the reaſon they had retarded proſecuting ſo long, in order to which they wanted not *Knights of the Poſt*, who for the value of Six-pence in drink, would make as many

falſe Affidavits againſt the *Engliſh* as they pleaſed. The Clergy made their complaint to the *Judges* the year before (as I have hinted to you already) as to the obſtinacy of the Countrey in the non-payment of their ſmall dues, and receiv'd no redreſs; but now the evils were grown upon them to an higher pitch. The *Prieſts* were now become ſo confident in their hopes of eſtabliſhing *Popery*, that they could no longer contain from ſhewing their inveterate malice againſt the *Proteſtant Clergy*, againſt whom they endeavour'd to prepoſſeſs their people at Maſs (over whom they have an unlimitted and Arbitrary power) with all imaginable prejudice and contempt. The *Prieſts* now ſuggeſted to them, that by the ſame reaſon that they detained the *leſſer* from, they might alſo refuſe the paying the *greater Tyths* to, the *Miniſters*, as Corn, Hay, *&c.* They told them that they ſaw by their own experience, they had been diſcouraged in their purſuit after the firſt, and after all their endeavours could get no redreſs. and now that the *Catholicks* had liberty of their Religion, they ſaw not why they ſhould not deny them the laſt: For the Law would not give theſe to them more than the former. Of right they told them that all the Tythes belonged to them as their proper due, and tho' by the oppreſſion and injuſtice of the *Proteſtant Government* they had been kept out of them ſo long to their apparent prejudice and diſadvantage, yet now things were in another poſture: They had now a *Catholick King*, and *Catholick Magiſtrates* of their own, who would not take their dues from them, but rather inveſt them in them; and therefore charged the people under pain of Excommunication and the ſevereſt Anathemas not to pay any manner of Tythes to the *Proteſtant Miniſters.*

ſters. The vulgar *Iriſh* were ſo much over-awed with theſe arts of terrour from their Prieſts (whoſe Sentence in any thing they reverence with an equal fear, and alike profound veneration, as if pronounced by the Pope in the Infallible Chair) that none would come to the *Proteſtant Clergy*, to take Tythes of them, unleſs theſe dreadful Imprecations (which if incurr'd they believ'd themſelves to be certainly damn'd) were taken off. By this means the great Tythes were like to lie upon the Miniſters hands, a great inconveniency in moſt parts of *Ireland*, where their Pariſhes being of a vaſt circumference, and full of Bogs and Mountainous places, 'twould be difficult, if not impoſſible almoſt, to gather their Tythes in kind, at leaſt without having one half of them embezel'd and ſtole by the *Iriſh*. This puts the Clergy upon a neceſſity either of ſetting out their Tythes in ſmall proportions; or elſe they muſt loſe them, and in thoſe Countrys where the *Iriſh* are moſt numerous, the vulgar ſort were wont to take the Tythe, which the *Prieſts* now prohibiting under the aforeſaid Penalties, would (as they were ſenſible) be an unſpeakable loſs and miſchief to the Miniſters, for the reaſons already mentioned, which was what they ſtudiouſly aim'd at, and were deſirous to improve, as high as they could.

Theſe malicious practices of the *Prieſts* put the *Proteſtant Clergy* to great inconveniencies in the diſpoſal of their Tyths, eſpecially in ſuch Countrys where the *Iriſh* were moſt numerous: Moſt were forced to deſcend to an accommodation with the Prieſts, beſtowing a conſiderable proportion of Tythes upon themſelves (which was what they drove at) to ſuffer the ordinary *Iriſh* to come and buy the reſt. Some that would not be abus'd at that

rate, made their Applications to the Judges of Aſſize, complaining againſt theſe inſolent and irregular Proceedings of the Prieſts. But alas it was not to be expected that theſe *Catholick Judges* would go and puniſh their Ghoſtly Fathers, a very unnatural act in their Religion. In ſhort no Law would be found out to puniſh them, all that could be gained (and that very rarely) was a civil admonition to them, not to diſturb the *Proteſtant Clergy* in their rights and the like, and ſo were diſmiſſed, how plain ſoever the Matter of Fact was proved againſt them. By this it ſeemed that thoſe of the Clergy, though not the moſt Couragious, yet were the moſt Politick, who dealt privately with the Prieſts, and by fair words and conſiderable Largeſſes of Tythe-Corn, *&c.* prevail'd upon them to be quiet: for the meek and filial regard of theſe Judges to their Worthy Fathers, ſerved but to make them the more inſulting and imperious over the Miniſters, who ſtill animated the Countrey againſt them, and at laſt to that height that ſeveral of the *Iriſh* in many Pariſhes violently ſeized upon the Tythe-Corn, *&c.* and converted it to their own uſe, neither ſuffering any other to buy it, nor any Servant of the Miniſters to come upon the Land to collect it.

But to leave this Affair of the Clergy, and to joyn them and the Laity together, if it happened that for money due by Bills under Hand and Seal, or by clear and unqueſtionable Evidence, Executions were obtain'd from the Judges againſt any of the *Iriſh*, then had the Natives another refuge to ſhelter themſelves under, and to fly to that of an *Iriſh Sheriff*, who would carefully decline all opportunities of taking the Party; or if he could not avoid apprehending him, then would either ſuffer him

him to make a voluntary eſcape, or elſe an hundred two of Men ſhould lie in the way, and reſcue him from the Gaol; or if they wanted force, the whole Countrey of the *Iriſh* would riſe up and aſſiſt them, if the Debt was due to an *Engliſh Churle*, as they called them. Theſe things ſo encouraged the *Iriſh* that had Executions over them, that they would come and hector thoſe of the *Engliſh* (to whom they owed the Money) in the open ſtreet, and with their Swords by their ſides, and Fire-Arms and Skeens in their Pockets (the laſt a bloody large Knife, with which they are wont to ſtab the *Engliſh*, and not ſeldom one another) with half a dozen or more luſty Rogues at their backs, would come to their Doors, and bid them publick defiance.

Thus were the *Engliſh* either deny'd juſtice againſt the *Iriſh*, or if they obtain'd it from the Judges, yet they were ſure not to meet with it in the Sheriff, and ſo have no other return of all their trouble, but the contracting additional coſt to their former Debt from one Aſſizes to another, which was like to continue *in infinitum*, and all to no purpoſe, unleſs that of enhanſing the charges far above the principal Debt, and ſtill be out of both. On the contrary hand, if an *Iriſh-man* had but any tolerable plea for a debt due from a *Proteſtant*, a decree was preſently granted, and as for the Sheriffs execution of it, 'twas as ſwift as his implacable hatred could carry him, and then be ſure no failure was committed in the ſevere uſage of the Debtor, whether in relation to Body or Goods: If the laſt, then muſt three times value of the Debt be taken, and apprais'd by *Iriſh-men* appointed for the purpoſe, who, the Reader may preſume, would not put too large an eſtimate upon them? 'twould fill a Volume

lume to give the particular inſtances of ſuch violent and irregular actions done, to the Authors own knowledge. But I proceed.

1688. Now came by a Ship from *Amſterdam* bound to *Dublin* with Letters from a Friend of *Tyrconnel*'s to him, which intimated, that he writing nothing but his own Conjecture, did imagin that the *Prince of Orange* had a deſign againſt *England*, for none could otherwiſe gueſs what all thoſe great preparations in *Holland*, which they were ſo extream hot upon, tended to. *Tyrconnell* ſent this Letter over to *Sunderland*, who ſhew'd it to the King, who made no other uſe of it than to deride *Tyrconnel*, as appear'd from *Sunderland*'s Writing to him, and ridiculing his intelligence. But every day uſher'd in freſh ſuſpicions, the effect whereof was look'd upon as very ſtrange, as being a thing which was wiſh'd for both by Friends and Enemys. The *Iriſh* (to ſhew their ancient Vanity) triumphed before the Victory: They called the *Engliſh*, *Rebels*, by way of Prediction; for they were ſure that they would joyn with the *Prince*, and as certain that they would be beaten, and be ſerved the ſame ſawce that *Monmouth* and his Adherents had met with, only that they now ſpoke more bloodily, and in more *Malicious* and *Butcherly* expreſſions againſt the *Prince of Orange*, **Whoſe head they would ſtick on a Pole, and carry it round the Kingdom.** For near a Month this was only diſcourſed of, but at laſt arrived King *James*'s Proclamation, and then the *Engliſh* began to conſider what they ſhould do. The moſt conſiderable perſons amongſt them haſtened to *Dublin* to ſee how things ſtood. The *Iriſh* alſo flocked thither in ſuch Multitudes, that the City could

could not contain them; yet the ſoberer and more prudent party were for ſitting ſtill, and ſome for going over to *England*, as being differently poſſeſſed with various fears and diſtractions, and when the happy News arriv'd of the *Prince's Landing*, they hung down their Heads like Bullruſhes, and were under the greateſt deſperation and deſpondency; and on the contrary, the *Engliſh* bore up as victors: *Tyrconnell* courted them, and made every day preparations for flight.

Yet the Term was then begun at *Dublin*, and the *Ld. C. J. Nugent* (than whom perhaps the Bench never bore a more *Confident Ignorant Iriſh-man*) gave the Charge to the *Grand Jury*, in which he applauded and extolled above the height of an Hyperbole, the Magnanimous and Heroick Actions of the *Great* and *Juſt King James*; and on the contrary caſt the moſt vilifying Reproaches upon the *Prince of Orange*, and charged them to make a diligent diſquiſition after any that were ſuſpected to adhere to his intereſt, with ſuch opprobious expreſſions fit only for the Mouth of an *Iriſh Vultur*, or *Cannibal*; his concluſion was, That now the *States of Holland* were weary of the *Prince*, and that they had ſent him over to be dreſs'd as *Monmouth* was, but that was too good for him, **And that he doubted not before a Month paſſed, to hear, that they were hung up all over** England **in Bunches like Ropes of Onions.**

About this time, as a Prelude to what has ſince followed, was one *Swan* a Gentleman near *Dublin*, moſt barbarouſly Murthered by the *Sheriff*, and a parcel of *Iriſh Ruffins*. The pretence the Sheriff had, was to take poſſeſſion of ſome Land that an *Iriſh-* 1688.

Iriſhman had recovered from the ſaid *Swan*, but with ſo little right, that the *Iriſh Judges* in the *Exchequer* (a Demonſtration indeed, that 'twas palpably unjuſt) refuſed to grant the Injunction; however their Tool, *Worth*, did it, and the cry is, *That the Blood of that Man lies at his door*: But the *Sheriff* exceeded the Tenour of his Warrant; for he had nothing to do with the Houſe nor Land it ſtood upon. *Swan* therefore kept his Houſe, and the Sheriff coming to take poſſeſſion, *Swan* looked out of the Window, and deſired him to call a *Jury* of that Neighbourhood, and if they found that Land or Houſe in his order from the Exchequer, he would give quiet poſſeſſion; but otherwiſe he would not open his Doors, for he was very ſure the Sheriff had no order to come there. Upon this, without any offer of *Swan*, more than keeping his Door ſhut, the Sheriff having his Men ready, a number of them together, diſcharged a Volley of Shot at him as he ſtood in his Window, and ſhot him in ſeveral places: they broke open his Doors, and finding him wallowing in Blood, and groaning upon the Floor, they took him up, and flung him out of Doors. Some more Compaſſionate than the reſt carried him into a Cabin, where he had ſo much ſtrength as to ask for Drink. In his Houſe there was of ſeveral ſorts enough, but thoſe *Inhumane Butchers* would not give the Dying Man a drop, who died there in the place. This Horrible Tragedy I thought fit not to omit the relation of, (though by way of Digreſſion) as being but the introductory part of too many of the like Barbarities repeated ſince.

Every day by all ways Expreſſes came to *Tyrconnell*, which gave him no good account of Affairs, which made him give Commiſſions to any that would

would accept of them, and that he might have the more cuſtom without a penny of Fees to the Secretary: For many of them that had Commiſſions, pawned them for their Lodgings at their going out of Town, not having a Penny to carry them along, but pawning their very Cloaths off their Backs as they Travelled.

The *Engliſh* and ſome of the beſt of themſelves laughed at this Poppet-play, for no man believed that 'twas deſigned for more than a ſhew, and that *Tyrconnel* did it to make good his Word, of **being able to raiſe an Army of an Hundred Thouſand Men at a Months notice.**

Every day brought an additional account of the Prince of *Orange*'s ſucceſs, which put the Grandees into ſo great a terrour, and conſternation, that thoſe who at firſt had expreſſed a great deal of alacrity and forwardneſs amongſt them, in raiſing of Men, began now to decline, and by degrees more and more to draw back. Then the Lord Deputy ſent to the Judges, and the Lord Chief Juſtice *Nugent*, (to ſhew his valour) undertook to raiſe a Regiment, and ſo others pretended to do, but it came to nothing. The *Iriſh* were in greater trouble and confuſion than before, the *Engliſh* braving it in City and Country, every day expecting to have an *Engliſh* Lord Lieutenant over, it being the unanimous opinion of all the *Proteſtants*, that the *Iriſh* Lords would have contended who ſhould be the firſt Man to make their ſubmiſſion; but no relief coming to the *Engliſh* as was expected, ſome began to draw for *England*, when an unexpected Cataſtrophe had like to have ſwallowed all up. 'Twas the Earl of *Mount Alexander*'s receiving of a Letter, giving him an account,

1688. That upon the Ninth of that Inſtant *December* all the *Proteſtants* of *Ireland* were to be cut off. This Letter he ſends with ſeveral Copies to *Dublin*, and to all parts of the Kingdom; it arrived at *Dublin* but on *Friday*, and the *Sunday* following, was to be the day of Slaughter. This ſuddain alarum ſtruck ſuch a fear upon the *Engliſh*, that upon the *Saturday* there got away about *Three Thouſand Souls*. There happened to be abundance of Ships in the Harbour at that time, but were ſo crammed that many were in danger of being ſtifled.

The Run of theſe people happened to be ſo ſuddain, and in the middle of the Night, that it reſembled the flight of the *Jews* out of *Egypt*, and the *Iriſh* were as deſirous to have them gone, for ſome of them were in as great a terrour as the other. The Guards kept their Poſt in a Maze, and the Draw-bridge of the Caſtle was drawn up, thus they ſtood upon their Guard till Morning, and when *Tyrconnel* underſtood what the matter was, he firſt ſent the Earl of *Roſcommon*, and the Earl of *Longford* to *Ringſend* (this being *Sunday* Morning) to perſwade the People to ſtay, and ordered the Yatcht to ſail after them that were gone, and to fetch them back, but neither of his Orders ſucceeded: And the ſame day ſent to ſome of the moſt Conſiderable Perſons, and Citizens of *Dublin*, that were *Proteſtants*, making great Proteſtations and Oaths of his utter abhorrence of the pretended deſign of Maſſacring the *Engliſh*, begging them to perſwade their Friends not to ſtir.

'Twas by all his actions at this juncture ſufficiently apparent, that he had then no thoughts of ſtanding out, notwithſtanding that he gave Commiſſions to every one that would accept of them:

For

For he now made great Court to the *Engliſh*, deſiring ſeveral of them to teſtifie how juſt and equal he had always been in his Government to the *Proteſtants*. This was a condeſcention to the *Engliſh*, which carried no proportion with the imperiouſneſs of his former carriage to them, and was accordingly interpreted as an effect of inevitable neceſſity, and of that great Conſternation, of which ſuch eminent Characters were plainly legible in all the Circumſtances of his Deportment; for he now diſcovered as much awe and dread of the ſucceſs of the Prince of *Orange*'s Arms, as upon the firſt News of his Arrival he had done of diſdain and contempt: Every Action he did had deep Marks of his Fears engraven upon it, and all his Diſcourſes expreſſed his diſordered and evil apprehenſions of the preſent tendency of Affairs.

But as Matters were in this great hurry and confuſion at the Caſtle, ſo is it not eaſie to ſet forth the ſtrange Effects and Conſequences which attended that ſuddain alarum in the City of an intended Univerſal Maſſacre: There you might ſee Thouſands of People deſerting their Houſes, and all their Subſtance in the World, and running to the Ships with ſcarce any *Cloaths* upon their Backs.

Never was ſeen ſuch a Conſternation as at this time: Never ſuch a Confuſion and Diſtraction. All the Bloody Maſſacres in the former Rebellion were now reflected upon under the moſt ghaſtly and diſmal Repreſentations, and thoſe Scenes of barbarity and cruelty ſeem'd to threaten the ſame or worſe uſage, which produc'd the greateſt horrour and amazement, grief and deſpair, that humane nature could be capable of.

This fatal News which had ſo terrify'd the *Pro-*

testants of *Dublin*, as if the dissolution of all things had been at hand, arrived not to several parts of the Kingdom, till the very day 'twas to be put in execution, which being *Sunday*, was brought to the People in the time of Divine Service in some places, which struck them with such suddain apprehensions of immediate destruction, that the Doors not allowing quick passage enough, by reason of the Crowd, abundance of persons made their escapes out of the Windows, and in the greatest fright and disorder that can be represented, the Men leaving their Hats and Perriwigs behind them, some of them had their Cloaths torn to pieces, others were trampled underfoot, and the Women in a worse condition than the men. And this disturbance did not only continue for this day, but for several *Sundays* after, the *Protestants* were in such a Consternation and terrour, that all, or most of them carried Fire Arms, and other Weapons to Church with them, and the very Ministers went armed into the Pulpit, and Centinels stood at the Church-doors all the while that they were in the Church. But whether this (which created so great a fear and uproar among the *Protestants* in all parts of the Kingdom) were a real thing designed, or whether by that discovery prevented, I leave it to others to judge and determin; but certain it is, that never any thing which happened in the Kingdom (no not all the occasions of fear which were given to the *English* in the daily Progress of *Popery* in the late *King James*'s Reign, or even that of *Tyrconnel*'s coming to the Government) made so great a fright among the *Protestants* as this.

1688. From this time we may commence those unheard of acts of rapin and spoil, which the *Irish* be-

began to exerciſe upon the *Engliſh*, ſuch unparallel'd Villanies of open Robbery and Violence as no Hiſtory can equalize, no time produce, or ſcarce any Nation (however ſo barbarous) have been known to be guilty of, at leaſt never any that had the Culture of a Moral, much leſs of a Chriſtian Education, or that were ſo far civilized as to be reduced to any ſenſe of humanity, or to ſubmiſſion to Law and Government.

'Twas a Principle long imbibed by the Natives of that *Kingdom*, and which a continued practice had given ſome proof and demonſtration of, that 'twas no crime to rob or ſteal from an *Engliſh-man* as being an *Heretick*, and deem'd a publick enemy to their Religion, as well as to their individual intereſts. Though this principle was too notorious to be own'd and defended, and in that reſpect, is of a like cognation with too many of the *Romiſh* Church; yet their actions evidenced the truth of it; I mean not of the Principle it ſelf, but of their being of that Opinion. For 'twas plain, that their forbearing to ravage and deſtroy the ſubſtance of the *Engliſh*, when under the *Proteſtant* Government, was to be attributed to a fear of the Laws, or rather of the Penalties annexed to the breach of them, which had hitherto in ſome meaſure curb'd and reſtrained them from violence; and not to any Principle of Conſcience, or diſtributive Juſtice. On the contrary they were ſo far from reſpecting it as a Crime to injure the *Engliſh* in what they could, (as is already touched upon) that they look'd upon it as an act of merit. *Quo jure, quâque injuriâ, ——per faſque, nefaſque.* If they could contrive any way to prejudice them in their ſubſtance or Eſtates, though by the moſt ſiniſter and impious devi-

devices, 'twas a leſſening of the *Purgatory Flames*, if not a quite Extinguiſhing; at leaſt, 'twas a nearer ſtep to *Paradiſe*.

But although this vile Maxim was induſtriouſly conceal'd amongſt them, and though at the bottom of their hearts did only break out now and then whilſt they were kept under ſubmiſſion and obedience to the *Engliſh*, and this for fear of an Human, not any Divine Law; yet when the face of things chang'd to their advantage in the Reign of the late *King James*, and amongſt many others, the Laws againſt notorious Criminals, and publick Malefactors, if *Iriſh men*, if not quite cancell'd, were much diſpenſed with: Then the Natives ſhewed themſelves in their proper Colours, and manfully apply'd themſelves to rob and ſteal from the *Engliſh*, which though it was a continued practice in all the aforeſaid Reign, yet never arriv'd to its maturity till this time. Now all things were in confuſion, and the Reins of Government ſeemed to be let looſe by reaſon of the preſent Diſtractions. This therefore they looked upon to be their Harveſt, which they were reſolved to make uſe of, as induſtriouſly as they could; and in order thereunto would go in great Crouds in the Night-time with Fire Arms, and other Weapons, and ſteal an hundred or two hundred Head of Cattle at once from an *Engliſh-man*. This practice continued ſo long, till many *Engliſh* Gentlemen, and ſubſtantial Farmers who had ſeveral hundreds of Black Cattle, and Sheep, *&c.* had not one left; ſo that thoſe who had lived in great Hoſpitality and Plenty, had not now Bread to eat, or any thing left to preſerve them from ſtarving. This Calamity was almoſt Univerſal throughout the whole Kingdom, though

in

in ſome Counties more than in others; and I have been told, That in ſome County in the Province of *Munſter*, Eleven Thouſand Cattle were ſtole by the *Iriſh* in nine days; and that hardly one *Engliſh* Gentleman or Farmer in all that Countrey had above two or three Cows left; and that for forty Miles together the *Iriſh* Cabbins were full of Beef ſtolen from the *Engliſh*, which they did not ſo much as beſtow Salt upon, but hung it up in the Smoak; and that it ſtunk and look'd as bad as any Carrion.

This I have by relation of ſome of that County, who are perſons of very good Credit, but not being an Eye-witneſs of it, ſhall leave it to the Reader to judge; only this is certain, That an incredible havock was made by the *Iriſh* in all parts of the Kingdom: But I leave theſe Cannibals to devour one another, after conſuming in this Barbarous and Impolitick manner, the Cattle and Breed of the Country, which in all probability will occaſion a famine, or very great ſcarcity in that miſerable Kingdom.

'Twas exceeding ſtrange, and unaccountable to ſee the *Engliſh* poſſeſs'd with ſuch various diſtractions upon the news of the intended Maſſacre already mentioned, ſome running to the North of *Ireland* among the *Scots*, others to the *Iſle of Man*, and abundance for *England*, to ſhelter themſelves; when at the ſame time, all that had any ſenſe, believed, that *Tyrconnel* would be the firſt Man in the Government that would endeavour his Eſcape: for moſt of his Goods of value were already pack'd up, and ſome of his Treaſure Ship'd. In this poſture they continued till *January*, and then ſome of the *Iriſh* Lords moved to have him ſurrender the *Sword*, and the whole *Council-board* gave it for their opinion;

on; to which he only replied, **Would they have him throw it over the Wall, for there was none to take it.** Thus unhappy was the delay, which with too much reaſon may be feared to lie at the Door of a certain Gentleman here, and his Friend *Keating* in *Ireland*, two Men that rais'd their fortunes in the laſt Settlement, and were making proviſion for the ſame Work again; and 'tis remarkable, that a Brother to theſe two Gentlemen, is (as 'tis ſaid) the moſt active among the *Iriſh* at this day; and one of their Houſes the only Sacred place from violence in *Dublin*. But of this Intriegue more may be expected, and time will ſhew, ſince the *Honourable Houſe of Commons* have taken that matter into their prudent Conſideration.

The deplorable Effects and Conſequences attending the wrong meaſures taken for the reduction of that Kingdom, are, perhaps, if duly reflected upon in all their Circumſtances, more doleful than the Maſſacre and Rebellion there in *Forty One*, tho' 'tis much leſs conſidered: and it ſeems a Work becoming the great Council of this Nation to bring the Authors of it to condign puniſhment.

But to return to the laſt debate betwixt *Tyrconnel* and his Council. They were all of them in amaze, and in great confuſion: What to do they knew not, all of them were unanimous in their Reſolutions to ſubmit, except the Lord Chief Juſtice *Nugent*, and the Lord Chief Baron *Rice*. The Prieſts put off their Wolves cloathing, and in moſt parts of the Kingdom turn'd Sparks with their Swords by their ſides and Perriwigs upon their Heads. In this Month the *Iriſh* aſſembled together in great Bodies by the name of Raperees, armed with Skeens and Half-Pikes, and what Robberies they

they left unacted upon the *Engliſh* in the Relation aforementioned, thoſe they now compleated, killing their Cattle, and robbing and pillaging their Houſes. Now their new Levies were Muſtering every day, and their Prieſts exerciſing the freſh rais'd Soldiers, and *Hamilton*'s Arrival from *England*, put them upon new reſolutions, which neceſſitated the *Engliſh* to fortifie themſelves, and to aſſociate together for their own preſervation; againſt which Proclamations were iſſued out in the North, and at *London-derry*, and then followed the ſame in other parts of the Kingdom, commanding them home to their reſpective Dwellings, and that ſuch as did not immediately obſerve the Proclamation, ſhould be proceeded againſt by the Attorney General as Traytors. This Proclamation was ſigned by ſeveral *Proteſtants* of the Privy-Council, which was fatal to the *Engliſh*, in regard that it poſſeſſed many of them with a belief, that there was not ſo much danger as they were afraid of; and others it put in fears of the Law. So that upon the whole matter, they were diverted from any thoughts of making their defence, and ſo were diſperſed and ſcattered up and down, and by that means became an eaſie Prey to the *Iriſh*.

Every day brought in new hopes and fears, ſo that ſome got together again of the *Engliſh* near *Kilkenny* and the Queens County, who were ſoon diſperſed. Still the Lord Deputy and Council remained in ſuſpence what to reſolve upon, when upon a ſuddain they came to a concluſion, which might quiet the *Iriſh* Lords that were for ſubmiſſion to the Prince and Government of *England*. The Project was this, That two Men ſhould be pitched upon, and ſent over to the late King *James* in *France*,

only to set forth the impossibility of their holding out against *England*, and then they were sure to obtain permission to make terms, and so might surrender. But this was a *Jesuitical Stratagem*, contrived by *Rice* and *Neagle*, and as one of them brag'd since, carry'd on without the privity of any but the *Lord Deputy*, and themselves. For they were afraid of the Cowardly Temper of the rest, whose inclinations were favourable enough to the Cause, but wanted Courage and Resolution. The Scheme being thus laid, 'twas moved at Conncil, and took with general Applause. *Rice*, and the Lord *Mountjoy* were pitched upon to be sent; and in the conclusion of this Affair at Council-Board, the Lord Chief Justice *Keating* believing now that their hopes of King *James* were over, thought to begin with the first to shew his Zeal and Affection to the *Protestant Cause*, and in order to that moved, that since they were resolved on this method, that his Excellency would put a stop to the raising Men, which was agreed to, but not in the least observed.

1688. *Mountjoy* and *Rice* proceed in their Negotiation, and take Shipping at *Waterford*, but before they arrived at *Paris*, the *French* Engineer Landed at *Corke*, and from thence rid with all expedition for *Dublin*. Then the face of things looked with a far different prospect to what they had done before, and those little hopes which had supported the *English* till this time, did now evaporate into nothing, which put them upon a necessity of associating together, and of getting into Castles and the best places of strength, they had for the defence and preservation of their Lives.

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In *Connaught*, the Lord *Kingſtone* behaved himſelf like the Son of ſo Noble a Father, whoſe hand the *Iriſh* had felt in the former Rebellion.

In the *North*, Sir *Arthur Royden* did the like, but a fate attended him that he could not divert. In *Munſter* the *Engliſh* were thought to be more conſiderable than in any part of *Ireland*, both for Horſe and Foot; of the latter more than three thouſand, and numbers of brave Gentlemen of gallant Courage and reſolution, and of will enough to back it, to have drove the *Iriſh* out of that Province, and to have march'd through the Kingdom, *Cork*, *Bandon*, *Kingſale*, and *Toughall* being offered to be delivered into their hands, which was ſo openly and indiſcreetly managed, that it became the publick diſcourſe for a Month together in every Coffee-houſe in *Dublin*. At this time there were not ſeven hundred old Soldiers in the whole County of *Corke*, which forc'd *Juſtin Mac Carthy* to write daily to *Tyrconnel*, that he could not hold out, without a ſpeedy ſupply of Men, which yet *Tyrconnel* could not ſpare; for he was afraid of an inſurrection in the *North*, and 'twas believ'd in *Dublin*, that if they in *Munſter* had done any thing, all parts of *Ireland* had been ſecure in the *Engliſh* hands, except *Lynſter*; for that *Tyrconnell* could have ſpared none of his own Forces from himſelf, and the new raiſed men then knew not the right from the left, if fame be true. The fault lay but in two Men, but that being publick, time will ſhew it, and my work here is to relate nothing but what there is good authority for.

Matters were now reduced to that extremity, 1688.
that no courſe remained to preſerve the *Engliſh*, but

that of making their eſcape; for they were diſarmed in one day throughout the Kingdom, and that order executed with ſo much rigour, that few perſons of whatſoever quality were permitted to wear their Swords. In the Corporations they ſhut up the Gates, and ſuffered none to paſs in or out without ſearching them ſtrictly for arms, and when they came to ſearch in their Houſes, under pretence that the *Engliſh* had conceal'd their Arms, they ſometimes ſeiz'd upon what Plate or Money they could meet with during this hurly-burly, which laſted for ſeveral days together, moſt of the Horſes which belong'd to *Engliſh* Gentlemen and Farmers in the Countrey were violently ſeized upon for the King's uſe, as was pretended, and ſeveral hundreds were brought into the Corporations, which were Garriſoned with *Iriſh* Soldiers, who quartered upon Private, as well as Publick-Houſes of the *Engliſh*, which were ſo full of them that they had ſcarce Beds for themſelves to lie in. They now were in daily expectation of the Landing of the late King *James*: And this poſſeſſed them with ſo triumphant a joy, that the more to diſcourage the *Engliſh*, they not only gave out that he was arrived, when there was no ſuch thing, but rung the Bells, made Bonfires, the Mayor and Aldermen in ſeveral Corporations drinking the King's Health, and the like. But this imaginary formality was but a prelude to the ſucceeding Triumph, to the real Landing of the late King. And then what they had done before in *Effigie*, or in empty ſhow, they now performed ſubſtantially, and to the life. 'Tis beyond any thing of human art to imagine, much more to deſcribe the greatneſs of their joy at this time, and therefore I ſhall not attempt a repreſentation, which would

would come infinitely ſhort of thoſe extravagant Pageantries which were now acted. Publick fame has already given ſome account of it, and to that I refer the Reader.

I have now given (as without vanity and oſtentation I may affirm it) as true and impartial a Relation as is poſſible, of the deſign the Abdicated King had from the happy Reſtauration of King *Charles* the Second, to make *Ireland* the refuge (if all other endeavours proved unſucceſsful) for his Catholick Friends: and 'tis plain that 'twas the *French* Allyance, (which he always *aſſiduouſly* made Court to) upon which he depended in the accompliſhment of this Intrigue. The *Iriſh* were very ſenſible of it, and ſince his acceſſion to the Crown, would frequently boaſt, that if *England* ſhould upon King *James*'s Death, or any other misfortune, devolve into the *Proteſtants* hands, that they made no doubt of preſerving *Ireland*, by the power of the *French*, and that the *Prince of Orange* (whom they always dreaded) would have his hands full at home: but that Soveraign Providence, *by whom Kings Reign, and Princes decree juſtice*, has to the great aſtoniſhment of other Nations, moſt miraculouſly confounded all the wicked devices of his Adverſaries, and preſerved him to ſit upon the Imperial Throne of theſe Kingdoms (where may he long Reign) not only to maintain the true *Reformed Religion* in his own Dominions, but to enlarge the beſt part of his Titles, **Defender of the Faith**, throughout the whole *Chriſtian* World. For ſo indeed (whatever opinion ſome prejudiced Men amongſt us may have) do all the **Reformed Churches** of *Europe* eſteem him to be.

I thought

I thought to have put a period to this Diſcourſe in this place, but obſerving the complaints of many that are fled from *Ireland* (whoſe miſeries may indeed allow them grains.) I ſhall beg leave to animadvert a little as to their miſtakes in the hard uſage which they think they have received here, in not being all immediately reprized by the King's Bounty.

I ſhall not ſay what is too apparent of ſome who came from thence, and would ſhelter themſelves among Honeſt Men, as moſt of them are generally believed to be: yet even in this Relation where they could not be left out, without making it imperfect, ſome are found faulty, and yet may pretend as fair as the beſt.

Every day produces additional reaſons why the King cannot be too cautious in whom he confides; and 'tis to be feared that ſome of *Ireland* are not quite exempt from all ſuſpicion as well as others in *England*.

But then as for thoſe whoſe deſerts have entituled them to his Majeſty's good opinion, ſuch as for their affection to the *Proteſtant Intereſt* and *Religion*, have been diveſted of their ſubſtance, and are in preſent want, thoſe we ſee are not out of his Majeſty's Gracious Care, and Princely Conſideration. For how many, I was about to ſay, how few, are excluded from Commands in the Army that deſired it; beſides all that had Commands formerly, and could not be employed, have half pay allowed them for their preſent ſubſiſtence. And then as for the poorer ſort, his Majeſty was before-hand in making proviſion for them, in iſſuing out his Brief for a General Collection throughout the whole Kingdom; which Charity has been gratefully acknow-

knowledged by that moſt Reverend and Pious Archbiſhop of *Tuam*, in a Sermon at St. *James*'s.

There now remains only ſome part of the Clergy and Gentlemen unprovided for. As for the Clergy, his Majeſty graciouſly conſidering their condition, did (ſoon after his acceſſion to the *Crown*) graciouſly order, that whatever Benefices in his Gift ſhould become vacant, ſhould be conferr'd upon them, beſides the ſupply which the Brief affords them for the preſent. Hence we may obſerve, to what a narrow compaſs the noiſe of Forty Thouſand People is reduced to, there being, according to the beſt account that is given, not Seven Hundred Men that are not, in ſome reſpect, or other, competently provided for. But that I may not be thought to have incurred a miſtake in this computation, it muſt be obſerved, That a great part of the Liſt given in to the *Houſe of Commons*, are Men of Eſtates, or Money here in *England*; and though perhaps ſome of thoſe make the greateſt clamour, yet would it better become them to relieve their Diſtreſſed Brethren, than to abate the Charity, which the Parliament with great generoſity, and a Chriſtian compaſſion deſigned for the ſupport of ſuch as were really in a poor and an indigent condition. All I here ſay is matter of fact; and how partially ſoever his Majeſty's preſent management may be miſinterpreted by ſome; yet 'tis certain, that his ſilent, but wonderful conduct, in the proviſion for the Diſtreſſed *Proteſtants* of *Ireland* ought to be engraven in Golden *Characters*, and not defaced by the unreaſonable *Clamours* of ſuch, who would devour that which they have no want of, and conſequently no juſt claim and title unto, to the apparent injury of their ſuffering and neceſſitous

ſitous Brethren, which the Parliament have moſt humbly ſupplicated his Majeſty for, who (no doubt) will in the moſt prudent and diſcreet manner, make ſuch a proviſion as will beſpeak his Royal Bounty and Charitable ſenſe of their condition, as well as be proportionable to their preſſing and great Neceſſities.

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